

Number IV.

A B R I D G M E N T

O F T H E

MINUTES OF THE EVIDENCE,

TAKEN BEFORE A

COMMITTEE OF THE WHOLE HOUSE,

TO WHOM IT WAS REFERRED TO CONSIDER OF THE

S L A V E - T R A D E,

1791.



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OF THE

MINUTES OF THE EVIDENCE,

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SELECT COMMITTEE OF THE WHOLE HOUSE,

TO WHOM IT WAS REFERRED TO CONSIDER OF THE

SLAVE-TRADE, 1790.

NUMBER IV.

Witness Examined,—RICHARD STOREY.

Mr. Richard Storey, lieutenant in the Royal Navy, P. 3.
having been from 1766 to 1770, on every part of the
coast from S. Leone to the river Sabon, declares,
That slaves are generally obtained by merauding par-
ties, from one village to another in the night. He
has also known canoes come from a distance and carry
off numbers in the night. P. 4.

In 1769, Captain Paterson, of a Liverpool ship,
lying off Bristol Town, set two villages at variance,
and bought prisoners, (near a dozen) from both
sides. While resident at Bristol Town, on the W.
Coast, for three months, he was in many villages, but
did not hear of any persons being carried off; on other
parts of the coast he has.

Has gone into the interiour country between the P. 5.
Bassau and the river Sesters; and all the nations there
go armed from the fear of merauding parties: there
Numb. 4. A were

1791. were no wild beasts to alarm them; and the people there have informed him, that they have obtained their slaves by war; these merauding parties are considered by them as war.

P. 6.

He was twice in danger from these parties himself. In 1767 he was put into a trading long-boat of the ship; about this time a merauding party from Grand Sesters had come in canoes and attacked Grand Cora in the night, and taken off 12 or 14 of the inhabitants; soon after which, having in his boat a native of Grand Sesters, the people of Grand Cora came to the boat in the river Sesters, and told the mate they had a slave to sell, on which he went ashore with them, leaving only Mr. Storey, a boy, and the black man in the boat. In about four hours after, a canoe came on board the boat, with the four men that the mate had gone with, saying, the mate was in another canoe in sight; and taking him off his guard, two of them seized him, while the other two got the black man overboard. Mr. Storey freed himself, and drove the two men overboard: the mate lay all this time on shore tied neck and heels, which confinement was occasioned by his refusing either to give up the native of Grand Sesters, or pay them the price of a slave in goods. This black man had before told of this expedition of his countrymen against Grand Cora, and often declared himself afraid to go on shore for that reason; he never gave it to be understood that there was a war at the time between Grand Sesters and Grand Cora; the only reason he assigned for the expedition was, that his own countrymen were poor.

P. 7.

It was impossible that there could be any existing wars between these two people, as they are 20 leagues asunder; and those of Grand Cora, not having canoes to carry more than two or three men, never go to sea but to fish: the canoes of Grand Sesters carry 12 or 14 men, and with these go merauding among their neighbours. He has seen them at sea out of sight of land in the day, and taking the opportunity of night to land where they pleased,

It

It is his opinion that the natives are often fraudulently carried off by the Europeans : he has been told by them, that they have lost their friends at different times, and supposed them taken by European ships going along the coast. He has himself taken up canoes, which were challenged by the natives, who supposed the men in them had been taken off the day before by a Dutchman.

That the natives retaliate such injuries is proved from the following facts : When lying to an anchor in his boat between the river Sesters and Settra Crue, a Dutch ship running down the coast sent her long-boat to where he was, to buy vegetables, &c. When come to an anchor, a number of canoes came about P. 8. the two boats, and one of the head men of the place wished him to go away, as they waited to take the Dutch boat and kill the crew. As a reason, they told him that a Dutch ship some days before had taken four men belonging to the place.

Afterwards, in 1768, being driven by contrary winds, in a coasting ship in which he was a passenger into the river Angra, as there appeared a prospect of trade, they staid there. The second day, two canoes with 12 or 14 men each came on board with two men bound, to sell. Having agreed for one of them he went down for irons to put him into ; but in coming up again was seized, with the master of the boat and another white man, whose throats were immediately cut. He got clear of those who seized him, but could not get upon deck. Half an hour after, being covered with wounds, and weak with the loss of blood, he proposed to give up both boat and cargo if suffered to go to Gaboon, to which they agreed, and then helping him up on deck they stripped him naked, put him into a canoe, and took him on shore to their town. The reason they gave for this was, that a ship from Liverpool (name forgotten, the captain's name Lambert) had some time before taken a canoe full of their townsmen and carried her away. He heard the same thing afterwards at Gaboon.

1791. He has been at Old Calabar, where slaves are brought down the river in war canoes, carrying upwards of 50 men armed, and a three or four pounder in the bow.

P. 9. Captain Jeremiah Smith, in the London, in 1766, having a dispute with the natives of Newtown Old Calabar concerning the stated price which he was to give for slaves, for several days stopped every canoe coming down the creek from Newtown, and also fired several guns indiscriminately over the woods into the town till he brought them to his own terms.

He looks upon the natives of the Windward Coast to be in general a hospitable friendly people, always willing to sell what they have, and also to give the best provisions the country affords. The men in general are very active and industrious, and chiefly employed in fishing, and trade with the Europeans; the women chiefly in cultivating rice and other vegetables. Old men also taken by merauding parties, and not saleable, they are put into their plantations; and to this employment he believes that slaves refused by the Europeans as too old for service are commonly destined, having seen many such at this work.

P. 10. On the Rice Coast, great quantities of rice are sold to the Europeans, the natives in parties of eight or ten bring it from the interior country, three or four days journey; he has known them take back salt and other European goods in return, and has every reason to believe, that if there was nobody to purchase slaves, they would turn themselves to cultivate their ground, and raise rice, &c. to purchase European goods. The quality of African rice is far superior to that of Carolina, bearing one-fourth more water.

The natives carry on their heads from 40 to 60 lb; has heard from them they go more than a month's journey inland with various articles from the coast, and has seen parties of more than 20 together men and women employed in carrying them.

In

In every thing they deal in, Europeans defraud 1791.
the natives, adulterate spirits with water, and then
heat it with pepper, and such guns have been sold
to them, that he has seen many with their barrels
burst and thrown away ; he has also seen several na-
tives without fingers and thumbs, blown off, as they
said, by the bursting of these guns.

He has been in the West Indies, and has there at P. 11.
St. Christopher's, and part of Grenada, seen surfs as
high, and higher than in Africa. At Madras in the
East Indies much higher, for a longer time than on
the Windward Coast, where there is no place (except
where sometimes for a day or two the surf is too
high,) boats are not continually loading in most
places in Africa, some rocks or points of land break
the surf, which is not the case in the clear and open
coast of Coromandel. Goods are landed every where
along the coast ; has seen them sometimes wet, but ne-
ver lost. They do not use the same expedients here
for loading and unloading boats that are used in
the West Indies.

In his first voyage to Old Calabar the slaves at-
tempted to rise, but did not succeed. In the year
1769, a Liverpool ship between Cape Mount and
Meturade, had every person killed by an insurrection,
except one boy.

In the ships he sailed in, the men slaves were al-P. 12.
ways kept in irons during the Middle Passage.

In the Regus, first ship he had sailed in, provisions
were plenty. In the second, the Tyger of White-
haven, the seamen in ten days after sailing were put
to an allowance of 4 lb. of bread per week, and
half a pound of beef or pork per day, which was the
whole fare for nine months ; he has but little com-
plaint to make of ill usage against the ships in which
he failed.

Think the slave trade very unhealthy in the rivers,
but not on the open coast ; they buried 14 out of
32 the first voyage in Calabar river ; and in the
Tyger in nine months, five or six out of 28. In three
voyages

1791. voyages to Virginia they buried one man; in five
 ~~~~~ Baltic voyages not one; in one to the southern whale  
 fishery none; and in two Mediterranean none. Of  
 the three Virginia voyages, the first was 11 months;  
 the other two about seven months each. The num-  
 ber of men in each 16. The southern whale fishing  
 voyage was of 11 months.

**P. 13.** In the Tyger the bread was tolerable, the beef and  
 pork so salted that in boiling they shrank to half  
 this weight. Having once in this vessel, when hand-  
 ing rice to the slaves taken a handful for his own  
 use, he was unmercifully beaten with a rope; he has  
 known others who had done the same thing through  
 hunger, treated for it in the same manner.

As an instance of similar ill treatment in other  
 slave ships, he says, that lying in the Tyger at Baffau,  
 he heard the sailors of three different ships complain  
 heavily of their provision, as being bad, and insuf-  
 ficient in quantity; these were, the Lancashire Witch,  
 Captain Coil; the Lilly, Captain Scragham; and  
 the Violet, Browne, notorious all for bad provisions

**P. 14.** and ill usage; he has seen the sailors of each un-  
 mercifully beaten for the most trifling offences;  
 knocked down with handspikes, or any other thing  
 that came in the Captain's or officers way that took  
 offence at the men. One man he saw in the Lan-  
 cashire Witch confined for some trifle, with an iron  
 collar on his right leg and arm shackled, and then  
 chained to a ring-bolt on the deck, where he remain-  
 ed a considerable time in this condition without any  
 other allowance but bread and water.

Witness Examined,—JAMES TOWNE.

**P. 15.** Mr. James Towne, carpenter of His Majesty's  
 ship Syren, made a voyage 1760 to the Isles de Los  
 on board the Peggy, Captain Cuthbert Davis, about  
 140 or 150 tons; and another in 1767 to Grand  
 Cape

Cape Mount, in the Sally, Captain George Evans, 1791.  
above 200 tons. The first voyage he remained between seven and eight months on the coast, then a boy; the second as carpenter, staid more than six months. He was mostly on shore three months together in the first voyage; in the second, for five or six weeks at a time. Repeated ill treatment was the occasion of his being so long on shore, for having gone in the trading shallop, he run away; he went into the back country among the inhabitants for some time to conceal himself, and was up the rivers and inland together, upwards of between 300 and 400 miles.

The natural productions of Africa are rice and yams in abundance, plantanes, bananas, and all other tropical fruits; plenty of camwood and elephants teeth; some tobacco, cultivated by natives who had been in England, but not yet skilfully cured. Great quantities of sugar-cane, long pepper; a bark like cinnamon; cotton in abundance, and often beautifully manufactured into cloth; a fine blue dye; beautiful woods for cabinet-makers; wax, ivory, palm-oil, palm-wine, and Indian corn.

The natives are hospitable and kind, and capable of learning quicker than white men. They differ as our own people in character, those on the coast learn to be roguish; inland they are innocent. The intercourse with Europeans has improved them in roguery, to plunder and steal, and pick up one another to sell.

Slaves in Africa were never ill used by their own people, but when bought by white traders they were used rather worse there than when on board.

He has seen both men and women cultivating the lands, but not often the women.

When a ship arrives she makes presents to the traders, to encourage them to bring any person down to sell as a slave, and they often pledge their own relations till they procure the slaves wanted. The black kings have told him, that they go to war on purpose

1791. purpose to get slaves, and he has seen the prisoners, (the men bound, the women and children loose) delivered up to the white traders, or driven in gangs of two or three hundred for sale to the water side. He has known them go in gangs merauding and catching all they could. In the Galenas river he knew an instance of four blacks who took a man that had been to sell one or more slaves, plundered and stripped him naked, and brought him to the trading shallop and sold him. The people on board did not understand his language, nor imagine why he seemed so cast down as they all are, but king Battou coming on board and knowing the man, inquired the cause of his being there as a slave; he related the circumstance; a guard of grumettas, with some of Towne's people, were sent after the blacks to take them, but did not succeed. They could not make the man eat, not even by flogging; they then put him irons, and in a little time he died. He believes the slaves sometimes become so for crimes, as murder, theft, and adultery; the last, if properly proved, is often punished with death.

P. 17. He has repeatedly heard both from the accused and accusers themselves, and he believes it common on the coast, to impute crimes falsely for the sake of having the accused person sold. One instance of a woman sold by her husband for adultery, and whom he himself brought off to the boat, and from her lamentations, and by her declaration, that she knew not what she was accused of, he thinks he has reason for imagining the crime imputed falsely. Mr. Murray, formerly of Bance island, Mr. Wood, his partner; Mr. Jenkins and Mr. Power, being to the windward of Bance Island, all told him that it was not an uncommon thing to bring on palavers to make slaves, and he believes it from the information of the slaves afterwards when brought down the country and put on board the ships.

Slaves are brought from the country very distant from the coast. The king of Barra has informed him,

him, that on the arrival of a ship he has gone 300 1791.  
or 400 miles up the country with his guard, and  
driven down 200 or 300 slaves to the sea side. From  
Marraba, king of the Mundingoes, he has heard that  
they had marched them out of the country more  
than 700 miles, that they had gone wood ranging to  
pick up every one they met with, whom they strip-  
ped naked, and if men, bound; but if women,  
brought down loose; this he had from themselves,  
and also that they often went to war with the Ballam  
nation on purpose to get slaves. They boasted that  
they should soon have a fine parcel for the shallop,  
and the success often answered.

He was once present with part of the crew at an P. 18.  
expedition undertaken by the whites for the purpose of  
seizing negroes, and joined by other boats to receive  
those they could catch. To prevent all alarm, they  
bound their mouths with oakum and handkerchiefs;  
one woman shrieked, and the men turned out in de-  
fence. He had then five tied in the boat, and the  
other boats were in readiness to take in what more  
they could get; all his party were armed, and the  
men of the town pursued them with first a scattering,  
and at length a general fire, and several of the men  
belonging to the boats, he has reason to believe,  
were killed, wounded, or taken, as he never heard  
of them afterwards. He was wounded himself.  
What became of the other boats, he knows not, for  
he knew nothing of the expedition, until ordered to  
take command of the boat, which though then he  
thought it a sport, he was afterwards sorry for having  
done. The slaves he had taken, were sold at  
Charleston, South Carolina. The natives had not  
previously committed any hostilities against any of  
the ships, whose boats were concerned in this trans-  
action; they owed goods to the captain, for which  
he resolved to obtain slaves at any rate. He has had  
several shipmates, who have themselves told him,  
they have been concerned in similar transactions, and  
Numb. 4. B have

1791. have made a boast of it, and who have been wounded also.

The Europeans endeavour to cheat the natives; they adulterate their liquors, and in buying and selling use different weights, to which they give the same appearance, by casing a stone and a piece of

P. 19. lead alike in brass; he kept such himself, and used them in dealing for wax, teeth, &c. by order of his commanding officer, whom he has also repeatedly seen do it himself.

The natives brought to the coast appear not to come on board willingly; on the contrary, they come down with a guard, and are forced into the boats.

When on board, they are always fettered with leg shackles and handcuffs, two and two, right and left. They lie in a crowded and cramped state, having neither their length nor breadth, in a space by no means sufficient for their health; and such is their suffocated state below, that he has known them go down well, and in the morning be brought up dead. When they come on deck, they are all in a dew sweat, from the tarpawlings being laid over the gratings in bad weather. The height between decks in the Peggy (tonnage 140 or 150, see p. 15 at the top) was about 4 feet, and in the Sally, 4 feet 4 or 5. The Peggy took on board about 230 negroes; the boys room only had a platform: between 50 and 60 of the cargo died. There were 25 seamen, he does not recollect above 6 or 7 dying.

The Sally (better than 200 tons, p. 15, at top) had platforms in boys and womens rooms, and the aft part of mens. The cargo was nearly 400, of whom about 60 died. The crew consisted of 40 men, of whom above 30 died. They were forced to get men from other ships on the coast; out of 6 mates, not 1 lived.

Something better than a pint of water, after they are fed, served at twice, was the daily allowance of a slave; and after being fed in the afternoon, the boatswain taking one, and the mate the other side of the deck, they are made to dance, and flogged with a cat

cat if they do not. In fine weather they are brought 1791. on deck between eight and nine in the morning, and put down again at four, there to remain until next day. He has known them refuse their food in consequence of being confined; ill treated, to induce them to eat; they are flogged, and put into irons separately; both their hands handcuffed, both legs shackled, a collar round their neck, with a chain, and often the thumb-screw applied, to take the stubbornness out of them. This was his task, and sometimes, from their ill treatment, they attempted to jump overboard; at others, have gone mad, and died in that situation. They often fall sick, sometimes owing to their crowded state, but mostly to grief, for being carried away from their country and friends, which being very well acquainted with their language, he knows from frequent inquiries into the circumstances of their grievous complaints. He has known them attempt to rise on board, and on inquiry into the cause, has been asked what business we had to carry them from their country; they had wives and children they wanted to be with. To check them, they are put singly into irons and flogged. He has known women with infants on board, two particularly, who, when their infants died, grieved after them, and died themselves. Guinea captains seldom buy women with children. Has heard the slaves singing, but their songs were lamentations. A slave kidnapped or sold, contrary to the custom of the country, to the ships, cannot complain to the black traders on board, for these traders never see the main deck, nor even speak to the women abaft, lest they might make signals to rise. When canoes come to the ship, no slave on the main deck can look over the ship's side; two officers stand with cats to prevent them, and this prevents their seeking release. A barricado of great strength, cuts off all intercourse between persons on the main deck and those in the after part of the ship; the women and the men thus cannot see one another.

1791. When sick, in the vessels he sailed in, the negroes were put forward, which was considered the ship's hospital; and though sometimes medicines are given, and sometimes forced down, they are in general but indifferently attended, so that they often die in their own filth. They are seldom long sick before they die. Never saw one sea sick. Small attention, confinement below, and the situation of being slaves, he supposes the cause of this rapid death of the sick. He looks on their dying as partly due to want of attention; in one instance there was no surgeon on board.

P. 23. P. 24. Mr. Towne has been in the West Indies; at Barbadoes for near a year, in 1779 and 1780; in Antigua for about 15 months, in 1780 and 1781; for 2 months at St. Kitt's, in 1781; and a little while in Jamaica, in 1782. He was in many plantations at Barbadoes, particularly Mr. Gibson's and Mr. Bishop's; on Mr. Tyrrel's and Sir John Laforey's, at Antigua, and on shore at St. Kitts and Jamaica. Slaves are sold in the West Indies sometimes by vendue, sometimes in lots; those of the vessels in which he was, were sold to the best bidder, and sometimes in lots; he never heard of any care taken to prevent the separation of relations and friends. Refuse slaves are such as are sickly from any cause; they are often kept on board to fatten them for sale, but if they do not recover, they are sold then to any body, some even so low as a guinea.

P. 25. The slaves in the West Indies work from four in the morning, till very late in the evening; if they come but a moment after their time, they are flogged with whips by the drivers, to whom they must come ready stripped for their punishment, to save time. Some, though lame, are obliged to work; if they complain, they are called lazy, and flogged by the driver. Has seen slaves laid down and stretched out to four stakes in the ground, and so receiving 40 or 50 lashes. He has seen them swang up to a crane, with weights at their feet to stretch them, so as to enlarge

enlarge the wounds of the whip; men and women 1791. alike. After flogging, they bring ebony switches, full of thorns, and with these flog them again, to let out the bruised blood. To encrease the severity, they use a manner of whipping, which they call crossing. They then pickle them, to keep flies from blowing, and maggots from breeding in their wounds. A jumper who goes from house to house for employment, inflicts these punishments at Bridgetown, Barbadoes, and St. John's, Antigua. In the plantations, a black called the boatswain of the plantation inflicts them, under the manager's direction. The marks of former whippings he has also observed P. 26. in a large proportion of the plantation slaves; there are in general scarce any without a number of them. They are nearly as large as a man's finger above the skin.

Mr. Bishop told him, that in his plantation, at Speight's Town, in Barbadoes, they had not bought a Guinea negro for upwards of 40 years, and that by good usage there were a great many more now there than then. Mr. Bishop told him, the encrease was due to more having been born, than had died on his estate. Knows of no encouragement given to the marriage of slaves.

Seamen are procured at Liverpool for the slave ships, by merchants clerks, who intoxicate them in publick houses, and so get them on board. The publicans also get them in their debt, and if they refuse a Guinea man, send them to gaol; the Guinea P. 27. captains are then informed, that if they want men, they may have so many, for paying these debts; and if then they agree to go, they are sent on board, and never suffered to come out of the ship again; if not, they remain in a gaol on a very scanty allowance; has known many instances himself.

On board the vessels in which he sailed, seamen were treated with the greatest inhumanity, in the Peggy, captain Davis; for instance, they were so soon as when round the rock of Liverpool, brought to an allowance

1791. allowance of four pound of bread per week ; their chests were staved and burnt, and themselves turned out from lying below. If any murmured, they were inhumanely beaten with any thing that came in the way, or flogged, both legs put in irons, and chained abaft to the pumps, and there made to work points and gaskets. The captain, as he passed by, repeatedly kicked them, and if offended at any thing they said, immediately called for a stick to beat them, and put their necks in an iron collar, with a chain. On the coast of Guinea, if not released before their arrival, they were made to row in boats back and forward, or any duty, in all their irons, and the chain locked to the boat, and at night, when returned to the ship, they were locked fast to the open deck, exposed to the heavy rain and dews, without any thing to lie on, or cover them. This was a common practice, but he adds, that not any of them died in this situation.

P. 28. On board the Sally also, where the ill treatment was general, one of the seamen had both his legs in irons, a collar on his neck, and was chained to the boat for three months, and when he complained, was often beaten most inhumanly, by both the captain and other officers. He grew at length too weak to sit and row. He was then taken on board the ship, and made to pick oakum, with only three pound of bread per week, and one-half pound of salt beef per day ; his legs remained in irons, but the collar was taken off the latter part of the time. One evening, on the Middle Passage, coming aft to beg for something to eat, or he should die, the captain inhumanly beat him, and then ordered him to go forward and die and be damned ; the man died that night.

One Edward Hilton also, being out in the boat watering, complained of being long without meat or drink, on which the boatswain beat and cut his head with the tiller. When he came on board all bloody, and was telling his story to Mr. Towne, the mate (by the captain's order) with the surgeon and boatswain,

swain, came forward, and beat him with canes (which 1791.  
they call serving out grog) the surgeon's cane struck ~~the~~  
his eye, which mortified, and was totally lost. His  
legs, when unable to stand, were then put in irons,  
and next morning he was sent in his irons, on the  
same duty in the boat, to which he was locked with  
a chain, until he was unable to remain any longer;  
he was then taken on board, and still in irons, laid  
forwards, and by the surgeon's advice, his allowance  
was stopped. Hilton lying before the mast almost  
dead, and Mr. Towne having received orders to go  
in the shallop to Jack River, when under weigh, the  
commander of the shallop was ordered to bring to,  
to take Hilton in, and to leave him on shore any  
where; he died early next morning. Two brothers, P. 29.  
William and John Walker, were equally ill used.

The general provisions of the crew were three  
pound of bread per week, and half a pound of salt  
beef per day. Water they had from the gun barrel,  
lashed to the topmast cross-trees, which every one  
was to take down for himself; he was himself punish-  
ed for giving the barrel to another half way up.

Captain Colly, on board the Hare Snow, (as he  
heard from the people of the ship at different times)  
killed his carpenter, carpenter's mate, cook, and  
another man, and when the crew complained of these  
murders in Virginia, they were not redressed, but  
sent on board, or threatened with the cow-skin, 39  
lashes, the general punishment of Guinea seamen,  
who are supposed to offend. He has seen many  
ships, and always found the same treatment as in his  
own.

Captain Scrogham, of the Lilly Snow, instead of  
complying with the request of a sick man, who came  
aft for something to eat, ordered him to be imme-  
diately stripped, and seized to the main shrouds,  
with his feet clear of the deck; he then stripped  
him himself to the shirt, and flogged him several  
times with a cat, the man still hanging by his hands; P. 30.  
when tired, he called on his officers to flog, but they  
refused,

1791. refused, on which he made the men slaves come off the main deck, and flog him until he was dead. The ship was then along-side the wharf of Charleston, South Carolina, where some of the crew coming on shore with the surgeon and mate, who was the captain's brother, reported the murder; the corpse being brought on shore next morning, Mr. Towne and many others, stopped and examined it, and had a coroner's inquest, which brought in a verdict of wilful murder, through the evidence of the surgeon and the captain's own brother. Lord Charles Montague, the Governor, sent officers on board to take, and confine the captain in gaol, which was accordingly done, but for want of evidence he was afterwards acquitted.

He has seen sailors apparently diseased and disabled, wandering about in the West Indies, with sore legs, which is common in Guineamen, emaciated; he has known them turned ashore by the captains, and lie upon the beach and the wharfs, where many have died, as he has seen. They are called wharfingers; none chuse to employ them for their wretched appearance, and thus they are left destitute of support. He was himself thus left on shore, without money or friends, at Charleston, South Carolina, with two others, who died. That these sailors came from the slave ships he knows, from having inquired; but without inquiry, they are easy to know, from the abject state of their appearance.

P. 31. He has repeatedly known Guinea sailors jump overboard, and even from ships he belonged to, on the Guinea coast, where sharks abounded. Some have succeeded in getting away, but on the offer of a large reward, which was afterwards charged against their wages, have been brought back by the natives, and immediately punished inhumanly with irons, collar and chain, and locked as before to the boat, to row on the duties of the ship during the captain's pleasure, with a very scanty allowance; he has never known

known sailors jump overboard from any other than Guinea ships. 1791.

From the ill treatment he has seen, and the loss of such numbers on board, both the ships he belonged to, and was acquainted with, it is not his opinion that the African trade is a nursery for seamen. He knows that the treatment of sailors in the West India trade, is not similar to that in the African; they are not so hard worked; they live and lie well, and are always taken great care of by the captains.

He assigns as a reason, for staving and burning the P. 32. seamens chests, that it was done to clear the ships for slaves; their contents, which were wearing apparel, if no bag was found to put them in, were often thrown overboard. The seamen's bedding, as well as their chests, was thrown upon the deck, and none suffered to lie below but the captain and the mate; if caught below to sleep, they were severely punished. This was the case of the ships he sailed in, both during the outward and Middle Passage.

The reason of his being left on shore at Charleston was, the fear of returning to captain Evans, after having been refused to be taken on board by a king's ship, to which he, and the two others, had applied for in vain; redress of grievances against captain Evans.

Being asked whether he meant to assert, that what he has said concerning West India punishments, was the general practice, or only, that he has himself seen the circumstances he has related, he answers, That he only meant to speak to such things as he was an eye-witness to, a number of times.

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Witness examined—Mr. CLAXTON.

Mr. Claxton sailed in the Garland, Capt. Forbes, for Africa in 1788, as surgeon's mate, and there on Numb. 4. C the

1791. the Bonny Coast commenced surgeon to the Young  
Hero brig, Capt. Molyneux.

P. 33. They had 250 slaves, of whom 132 died, chiefly  
of the flux; so crowded that they could only lie on  
their sides, if they did otherwise, it created quarrels  
among them: they stowed so close, that he could not  
go among them with his shoes without danger of  
hurting them. This crowded state aggravated their  
sufferings when ill, and tended to increase the dis-  
order. It was impossible to treat them with the ne-  
cessary accommodations. The steerage and boys  
room insufficient to receive the sick, so greatly did  
the disorder prevail, they were therefore obliged to  
place together those that were and those that were  
not diseased, and in consequence the disease and  
mortality spread more and more. The captain  
treated them with more tenderness than he has heard  
was usual, but the men were not humane. Some of  
the most diseased were obliged to be kept on deck,  
with a sail spread for them to lie on: this, in a little  
time, became nearly covered with blood and mucus,

P. 34. which involuntarily issued from them, and therefore  
the sailors, who had the disagreeable task of cleaning  
the sail, grew angry with the slaves, and used to beat  
them inhumanly with their hands, or with a cat. The  
slaves in consequence grew fearful of committing this  
involuntary action, and when they perceived they  
had done it, would immediately creep to the tubs,  
and there sit straining with such violence as to pro-  
duce a prolapsus ani, which could not be cured. The  
same punishments were inflicted for the same cause on  
those who were not quite so ill.

Slaves, whose flux was accompanied with scurvy,  
and such cedematous swellings of the legs as made  
it pain to move at all, were made to dance, as they  
call it, and whipped with a cat if they were re-  
luctant.

The slaves both when ill and well, were frequently  
forced to eat against their inclinations. Were whip-  
ped

ped with a cat if they refused. They used other means still worse, and too nauseous to mention.

The parts on which their shackles are fastened are often excoriated by the violent exercise they are forced to take, and of this they made many grievous complaints to him.

That slaves, when first brought on board, are commonly dejected, he shews by an instance of nine purchased on his passage from Bonny to the Isle of Bimbe, who were all very much dejected: one girl in particular, clung to the neck of her seller, and though only ten or twelve years old, could not be comforted. She continued three or four days in that situation. The whole cargo appeared more or less afflicted on leaving their country.

Some had such an aversion to leaving their native places, that they threw themselves overboard, on an idea, that they should get back to their own country. The captain, in order to obviate this idea, cut off the heads of those who died, intimating to them, that if determined to go, they must return without their heads. The slaves were accordingly brought up to witness the operation, one man excepted, who was at length, against his will, forced up, seeing, when on deck, the carpenter standing with his hatchet up ready to strike off the head, with a violent exertion, he got loose, and flying to the place where the nettings had been unloosed, in order to empty the tubs, he darted himself overboard. The ship brought to, and a man was placed on the main chain to catch him, which he perceiving, dived under water, and rising again at a distance from the ship, made signs, which words cannot describe, expressive of his happiness in escaping. He then went down, and was seen no more. A strict watch over them was now kept, yet still they found means to elude all precaution. One of the tubs being set near where the nettings were lashed to the bulk-head, some of the slaves who had premeditated an escape, under pretence of easing themselves, contrived, while sitting

P. 35.  
on

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1791. on the tubs, to unloose the lashing, so that two ~~two~~ actually threw themselves overboard, and were lost. A third was caught when three parts over.

Once imagined an insurrection was intended.—  
(See particulars.)

They sing, but not for their amusement. The capt. ordered them to sing, and they sang songs of sorrow. Their sickness, fear of being beaten, their hunger, and the memory of their country, &c. are the usual subjects; he could even mention their words.—They generally speak the same language, but there was one man who spoke a language unknown to all the rest, which made his condition very lamentable. He never took exercise but when compelled. His situation (he believes) produced a state of insanity, and he died mad.

P. 37. The slaves had not a sufficient quantity of food, owing to the extraordinary length of the passage, which was fifteen weeks. At first they did not like their food, and would not eat, but when used to it, they would have eaten near twice as much as allowed them.

A considerable number of slaves died in the early part of the voyage. After eight weeks at sea, they had only got three days sail from the place they had set out from. On examination, they did not find five weeks provision on board. Two nations being at war, they could not procure food from either. A Dutch ship supplied them with a little bread, and sufficient water. The food, notwithstanding the mortality, was so little, that if ten days more at sea, they should, as the captain and others said, have made the slaves walk the plank, that is, throw themselves overboard, or have eaten those slaves that died.

Fell in with the Hero, Wilson, which had lost, he thinks, 360 slaves by death, he is certain more than half of her cargo: learnt this from the surgeon. They had died mostly of the small-pox. Surgeon also told him, that when removed from one place to another, they left marks of their skin and blood upon

upon the deck, and that it was the most horrid sight 1791.  
he had ever seen.

They had on board about fifty boys and girls, but P. 38.  
without parents or other relations; there was one  
instance of two sisters.

At Rumbie the natives apprehensive that they were  
going to war with them. Did not come off the  
coast for some time. Two canoes at length ventured,  
and inquired if they were come to war or trade:  
being told to trade, with apparent caution they at-  
tempted to come on board, and asked the captain if  
he had not two tongues. Captain assured them he  
would not hurt them, on which one of them ven-  
tured on board, declaring if the captain killed him,  
those in the canoes would kill the ship's crew. The  
rest followed, and convinced that trade was the ship's  
object, desired that two might stay to examine the  
goods; at the same time requiring two hostages,  
which was complied with. He knew another instance  
of the same kind.

Whilst lying off the Batteau islands he heard of P. 39.  
some Europeans being cut off a little before by the  
natives, and this from a person close by at the time,  
so as to convince him of its truth. The terror of  
the natives on seeing the vessel, lest they should de-  
stroy the island, afforded a proof of the fact. They  
were in arms all night, which obliged the crew also  
to arm.

The natives have a particular pleasure in bartering  
what they have for European goods of any kind.

The slaves were sold in the West Indies in an in-  
fectious state, and some that he believes were going  
to die, and accordingly out of 14 of this description  
only 4 lived. He apprized the seller's agent of their  
danger, and his answer was, it would be best to dis-  
pose of them immediately; but such as afforded  
hopes of recovery, he desired to have purchased for  
himself, which was done,

Witness

Witnes examined—Lieutenant SIMPSON.

1791. Mr. John Simpson, lieutenant of marines, went out in his Majesty's ship the Adventure, and was on P. 40. the coast chiefly from Settra Crue to Accra, in 1788 and 1789. From what he saw, he believes the slave trade is the occasion of wars among the natives. From those of the windward coast he understood that the villages were always at war, and the black traders and others gave as a reason for it, that the kings wanted slaves. If a trading canoe along-side the ship saw a larger canoe coming from a village they were at war with, they instantly fled, sometimes without receiving the value of their goods. On inquiry, he learned their reason to be, that if taken they would have been made slaves.

At C. Coast Castle, and other parts of the Gold Coast, he heard repeatedly from the black traders the slave-trade made wars and palavers. Mr. Quakoo, chaplain at C. Coast Castle, informed him, that wars were made in the interior parts for that sole purpose.

There are two crimes which seemed made on purpose to procure slaves, adultery and the removal of fetiches. As to adultery, he was warned against connecting himself with any woman not pointed out to him, for that the kings kept several who were sent out to allure the unwary, and that if found to be connected with these, he would be seized, and P. 41. made to pay the price of a man-slave. As to fetiches, consisting of pieces of wood, old pitchers, kettles, &c. laid in the path ways, he was warned to avoid displacing them, for if he should, the natives, who were on the watch, would seize him, and as before, exact the price of a man-slave. These baits are laid equally for natives as Europeans, but the former are better acquainted with the law, and consequently more circumspect.

That

That the Europeans sometimes fraudulently carry 1791. off the natives on that part of the Windward Coast where there is no English factory, he believes. The repeated inquiries and disinclination of the natives to come on board the ship, till convinced she was not a slave-ship but a man of war, confirmed his opinion. When they were satisfied, they came on board readily, and in numbers.

The natives sometimes retaliate on the Europeans for such injuries. From Albion slave ship, at Settra Crue, learnt, that two chiefs being at variance, one of them seizing five of the other's party, had sold them to the Albion, for which that party seized three of the Albion's seamen, and would not release them without the slaves were returned.

Believes if the slave-trade were abolished, the P. 42. indolence of the natives is not such as to prevent a commerce with them in their native produce; for to his repeated inquiries what they would do were it abolished, the black traders answered, they did not care, they should soon find some other trade to live by.

Convinced the treatment of seamen on board Guinea ships is very bad. When at Fort Apollonia, the Adventurer's boat was hailed by some seamen of the Fly Guineaman, begging to be taken in the man of war, for their treatment made their lives miserable. The boat was accordingly sent to the Fly by captain Parry, and one or two men brought on board. The Albion at another time, unable to avoid the Adventure, (which she tried to do) spoke to her, and the captain brought a seaman on board, whom he wished to leave, complaining he was riotous and disorderly. The man, in every instance, proved the reverse, and from him he learned that he had been half starved and cruelly beaten, both by captain and surgeon, who neglected the seamen, saying he was only paid for attending the slaves. Also learned their allowance was increased, and their treatment better, when in sight of a man of war; which was confirmed to him by

1791. by another man from a slave ship, who had been left behind with a shockingly ulcerated leg, and recited various instances of ill treatment he had received. The Adventure's boat having been sent to Anamaboo
- P. 43. to the Spy Guineaman, returned with three men concealed under her sail, who fled from the slave ship, where they complained their treatment had made their lives miserable, beaten and half starved. Besides these there were other instances not remembered.

He never heard any complaints from West India-men, or other merchant ships: on the contrary, they wished to avoid a man of war; whereas if the Adventure had taken all who complained and offered themselves from the Guineamen, it must have greatly distressed the trade.

Has been in Barbadoes and Jamaica. When first at Bridgetown, his impression as to the treatment of slaves by their general appearance was trivial, they were natives, household servants, and their labour very light; but was impressed with the utmost horror on seeing the field slaves, some working in irons, under the lash of an inhuman negro driver, and their backs in general lacerated by his blows. He never saw a gang without one or two of these tormentors, snapping their whips, and threatening to make them feel them.

- When at Cape Coast he saw slaves brought from the interior country, who were bought, he believes, by the then Governor, Mr. Norris. He examined them, and they appeared much concerned at coming into the hands of Europeans. Dejection and despair were strongly painted on their countenances. When at Bridgetown, he saw in the poor-house 18 or 20 seamen, from different slave ships. They related various instances of the barbarities of their late commanders, who had left them behind without any means of getting home. They seemed very much emaciated, and some of them ulcerated and in a condition in which they said neither West Indiamen nor

nor men of war would receive them. They had not 1791.  
only been beaten but nearly starved.   

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Witness examined—Doctor HARRISON, M. D.

He was above 10 years in Jamaica, from 1755 to 1765, and in America from 1765 to 1778: in the P. 44. medical line in both.

He had every possible opportunity of knowing the situation of the slaves, seeing them in sickness, in health, and often punished. Has been on several sugar works in different parts of Jamaica, at all seasons, for two or three weeks, sometimes only a P. 45. few days.

The field slaves have land enough for their support, had they time to cultivate it. They had no other food allowed on the estates he was on, except salt provisions at Christmas. New negroes were allowed a year's provisions, that is, till they had cultivated their land. They had only holidays and Sundays to work it, which was not sufficient, for they must work their grounds after dark. Saturday afternoon was not allowed them on any estate he knew. They looked much better than one could expect considering their severe treatment, but, in general very indifferent. Believes on all estates slaves often plunder other's provision grounds for support. In the first instance he knew of this, a slave was cut nearly all to pieces for it; but after he knew the estates better, P. 46. he heard and knew it to be frequent.

Not the least attention is paid to the religious instruction of the slaves.

They were very badly lodged, and had no clothes but what they get by their own extra labour, except at Christmas, 2 frocks and 2 pair Osnaburgh trowsers for the men, and 2 coats and 2 shifts for the women, and some had 2 handkerchiefs for the head. In general, their masters give them no bedding at all.

Numb. 4.

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Some

1791. Some new negroes have a few blankets, but not generally.

They were not married, nor encouraged to bring up families; the universal opinion being, that it was better and cheaper to buy than to breed. Humane overseers allowed complaining pregnant women to retire from work; but he has seen them labouring in the field, when they seemed to have but a few weeks to go. They were generally worked as long as they were able.

- P. 47. Does not think proper attention was paid to the children. Thinks the labour he saw pregnant women doing, must, at some times, have injured them.

Old slaves, past labour, if they had no friends to give them necessaries, must have wanted every thing. Has seen a number of those objects on different estates.

They usually work from sun-rise to sun-set; sometimes 13 or 14 hours, including 2 hours for dinner. In crop they work night and day, without cessation.

Grafs-picking, when he saw it, was always extra work, and, on some estates, was a cruel hardship.

He has always seen the driver with a whip in his hand, and sometimes exercising it severely.

The plantation punishments are severe whippings, chaining them by the neck and leg, putting heavy iron boots on their legs, and iron pothooks on their necks, and putting them in the stocks. He has often seen these punishments inflicted with what he

- P. 48. thought capricious or severity. On an estate, at Liguanea, he saw the overseer whip several old, decrepid women very severely, only for not picking cotton enough. Has often seen negroes in chains, half famished, and scarcely able to walk, compelled to go into the field.

At Kingston the negroes were flogged in the gaol, round the town, and on the wharfs. He thought the whippings in gaol, and round the town, too severe to be inflicted on any of the human species. He attended a man, who had been flogged in gaol,

five or six weeks before he was well. It was by his master's order, for not coming when he was called. ~~~  
He could lay two or three fingers in the wounds from the whip. Knows of many similar instances. The gaol and wharf whippings were by order of the masters or mistresses, sometimes by the magistrate, but generally the magistrate orders whipping round the town. The punishments of soldiers (which he has very often witnessed) were generally mild, compared to the whipping of slaves in gaol or round the town.

Never knew slaves had any legal protection. The only protection they had, was from their masters against any indifferent person. Formed this opinion from a multitude of unredressed violences. Among others, a negro was flogged to death, by order of her mistress, who stood by to see the punishment. The negro died a few days after.—A negro man was put on the picket so long as to cause a mortification of his foot and hand, on suspicion of robbing his master, a publick officer, of a sum of money, which it afterwards appeared, the master had taken himself. Yet the master was privy to the punishment, and the slave had no compensation. He was punished by order of the master, who did not then chuse to make it known that he himself had made use of the money. Neither the mistress nor master were prosecuted for P. 49. these acts.

A gentleman offended at a negro, named Monday, for mimicking him, bought him. After buying him, he ordered him to be flogged; the consequence was, that Monday cut his own throat.

He thinks the abilities of the negroes equal to our P. 50. own, and their dispositions much the same. The free negroes are as industrious as the whites, and he thinks slavery causes the unwillingness of the others. In general, slaves are not so good mechanicks as whites, which he attributes to the same cause. Many free negroes are very good mechanicks.

1791. He has often heard slaves lament their unfortunate situation. A negro man once asked him, whether the old gentlemen of the country had not much to answer for, for not teaching them Christianity, and for treating them so cruelly as they did, not allowing them to obtain their own freedom when they merited it.

A negro boy of his, detested slavery so much, that he refused all support, which brought on a dropsy that killed him. Another negro, who had been a great man in his own country, refused to work for any white man, and being therefore punished by the overseer, desired him to tell his master, that he would be a slave to no man. His master ordered him to be removed to another estate. His hands were tied behind him, and in going over a bridge he jumped into the water, and appeared no more. These are two facts of Dr. Harrison's own knowledge, out of a great many which he cannot now recollect.

P. 51. A slave of his told him she had been kidnapped, by being put in a bag. A man who was kidnapped told him he was a great many months in travelling to the sea, that there was a traffick for slaves to sell to the whites, even beyond his country, and that kidnapping was common there.

Sales of the slaves of distressed proprietors were frequent over all the island, when families were often separated. He bought a negro woman and child out of compassion, that she might not be taken from her husband. When negroes are seized for debt, the marshal takes them as he can find them, which generally leaves a part of the family on the estate: though when he chances to seize a whole family, he has known them put all up in one lot; but generally part only of a family was so seized.

He has heard several overseers say, the plough would save a great deal of negro-labour, and lament it was not used.

P. 52. General opinion favoured those overseers who made most sugar, with little or no respect to lenity; but he knew

knew one overseer, remarkable for humanity, who 1791. made more sugar with fewer hands than others did with more. In his opinion, were slaves more encouraged and more humanely treated, they would do much more work.

Slaves were certainly worse treated when their masters were embarrassed; for their distresses obliged them to work their slaves beyond their strength, to make sugars to pay their debts.

The planter's residence was of the greatest advantage to his slaves. They were always the better used for it in every respect. It was the general opinion, that the conduct of attorneys was often inconsistent with the interest of non-residents, and in many cases very injurious to them.

It is well known there, that negro women have no security against violation, unless their masters choose to protect them.

He never thought free negroes sufficiently protected against injuries from whites; because their oaths were not allowed, except in cases of debt.

In the outskirts of Kingston, he has always seen several emaciated and diseased sailors, who were left on shore by masters of Guineamen. P. 53-

The Jamaica slaves were generally treated very ill, and only individuals treated them well. In South Carolina, the slaves were in general treated very well, and only individuals treated them ill. In S. Carolina, they were well fed, well clothed, less worked, and never severely whipped. In Jamaica they were badly fed, indifferently clothed, hard worked, and severely whipped. In S. Carolina, the negroes laboured by task-work, which was often finished by three or four P. M. which enabled them to work their grounds, and to hunt and fish for themselves. He never saw a driver with a whip, for generally there was no occasion for it, as they worked by task.

In Doctor Harrison's opinion, as a medical man, the climate of Jamaica is more favourable to the increase of slaves than that of Carolina, notwithstanding

1791. ing which disadvantage, Carolina increased in slaves, while those in Jamaica decreased. Sufficient attention was not paid to the rearing of negro children even in Carolina, because they were of opinion it was cheaper to buy new negroes than to rear children.

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Witness Examined,—Doctor JACKSON, Physician, Stockton-upon-Tees.

P. 54. Went to Jamaica in 1774, resided there four years, chiefly at Savannah-la-Mar, where he practised medicine; his profession led him daily, eight, ten, or more miles into the country; has occasionally been, for a short time, at most parts of the island.

On his arrival found the condition of negroes hard, and their treatment cruel.

First thing that shocked him was, a creole lady (of some consequence) superintending the punishment of her slaves, male and female; ordering the number of lashes, and with her own hands flogging the negro driver, if he did not punish properly.

Though this the only instance he saw, believes it not uncommon for women of rank thus to superintend punishments of their slaves (p. 55): they were not worse received in society for it; it might be said, “such a one is a termagant,” but she was not for that less respected; it was indeed thought necessary for an industrious wife to be rigid in the punishment of her slaves.

The punishment seemed to him very severe, blood flowed at every stroke, and if the allotted quantum could not, without danger to life, be given at once, the negro was put into the stocks for some days, and when a little recruited, received the rest of his flogging.

As to mode of punishing, in some cases the offender was tied and stood upright; in others more severe, was stretched between four stakes, so tight that he could

could not shrink or move ; the whip, like what our 1791. waggoners use, was thrown at the distance of three or four paces, which of course greatly increased the weight of the lashes : for women too far advanced in pregnancy to be stretched flat on the ground, a hole was dug in the earth to receive their bellies ; this last he never saw, but is as certain of it, as one can be, of a fact he has not seen.

Thinks severe whippings sometimes occasion slave's death : recollects a negro dying under the lash, or very soon after ; it was generally said the negro was killed by it ; no attempt to bring the person to P. 56. justice : people said it was an unfortunate thing ; were surprized the man was not more cautious, as it was not the first thing of the kind that had happened to him ; but chiefly dwelt upon the proprietor's loss.

Has seen slaves with a leg cut off, for running away, he was told : law there allows owners to do so. Has heard of negroes castrated for trespass on overseer's black mistress, of which act no account was taken.

Never knew a negro complain to a magistrate of his master : it was understood he could not have legal redress, or if so, negroes were ignorant of it.

In general, no attention paid to the religious instruction of slaves. In the district where he lived, the church was never opened but for a company of soldiers quartered there ; nor to introduce marriage among them. Negro men cohabited where they pleased. White men had unrestrained intercourseP. 57. with plantation females.

Negroes were generally esteemed a species of inferior beings, whom the right of purchase gave the owner a power of using at his will.

After much knowledge of them, he could not perceive them at all inferior to unlettered white men in capacity. As to disposition, they possess many amiable qualities. They are charitable to all in distress ; parents strongly attached to their children ; and many have given strongest proofs of gratitude and

1791. and attachment to their masters. To mention one instance of this; during the American war, in the action at the Cow Pan, a negro who was attached to him, had escaped with the fugitives of the army to a distance of two or three miles; when, hearing from some soldiers that his master had been seen unhorsed, he returned to the field to search for him, and fell into the hands of the enemy.

They often complain they are an oppressed people; that they suffer in this world, but expect happiness in the next, whilst they denounce the vengeance of God on the white men their oppressors: if you speak to them of future punishments they say, " Why should a poor negro be punished: he does no wrong; fiery cauldrons, and such things, are reserved for white people, as punishments for the oppression of slaves."

P. 58. Were slaves well used he cannot conceive why they should not keep up their numbers: they are naturally prolific, and the islands are in general congenial to their constitutions.

The buying system was generally preferred. Supposes, they are frequently lost, from mothers being forced to work while nurses, as at other times, and so becoming indifferent to rearing their children; not that they want parental affection, but hard usage, and the idea of rearing children subject to cruel treatment, leads them to wish their offspring may fail. Has heard them wish them dead, or that they had never been born, rather than be forced to see them daily punished: hence also they are supposed to procure abortion, to which motive may be added, a fear in such as are handsome, to diminish their charms in the eyes of white men.

Slaves whose owners are in embarrassed circumstances are ill clothed, hard worked, and poorly fed.

P. 59. In general, he considers the hardship of negro field labour to be more in the mode, than in the quantity done. A white man in England would, doubtless, though not superior in strength, do with ease the work

work of three negroes in the West Indies; because 1791. the slave seeing no end to his labour, stands over the work, and only throws the hoe to avoid the lash, he P. 59. appears to work without actually working.

A planter's interest well understood, would doubtless prevent his wearing out his slaves by excessive labour; but, there are few in circumstances to attend to this: they look to the immediate returns of the season only; the other is a view too distant for the most of them.

The slaves of resident owners are generally better satisfied than those of absentees.

The criterion of a manager's merit seemed to be the increasing the number of hds of sugar; keeping up the stock of slaves by breeding, was not the thing principally looked to.

Managers have almost always slaves of their own.

Field slaves have land given them, sufficient if in P. 60. good culture, for their subsistence, and something over to carry to market. Many are allowed to keep a breeding sow, or some poultry; in general they have no other property.

As a medical man, is of opinion that white artificers may, and actually do, work at their trade in the West Indies; that Europeans are, with proper caution, equal to the ordinary field labour, without any material injury to health; he knows from personal experience, they may safely walk 20, 30, or more miles a day.

The mortality among the troops may be ascribed more to want of discipline, encampments on unhealthy spots, immoderate use of spirituous liquors, and perhaps defects in the medical department, than to climate.

Did not perceive any great defect in the medical treatment of slaves, every estate being provided with a medical person who visits the negro hospital at P. 61. stated times in the week, and in extraordinary cases gives immediate attendance when called.

**P. 61.** The manager visiting the sick along with the surgeon, from his first entering as a book-keeper, becomes equal to the treatment of slight complaints: in general there is a slave on each estate who can let blood, and do other common things.

Superanuated slaves who have no relations, are, he believes, often placed at the corner of a corn field, and have a few plantanes weekly to keep them from dying with hunger; such of them as he has seen, were, dirty and emaciated to the last degree.

What slaves have occasion to carry, they bear on their heads, and can carry great weight in this way.

Runaways are brought back by the Maroons.

**P. 62.** Has been in America: joined his regiment (71st) in 1778, at York Island, accompanied it to Savannah; traversed all the southern provinces with the army to York-Town, Virginia; on its surrender, passed through Maryland, Pennsylvania, and Jersey, to New-York. The negroes of America appeared to great advantage compared with those of Jamaica; their ideas were more expanded, and their bodily exertions greater.

Thrice more domesticks are kept in Jamaica than would be in England for the same work.

#### Witness Examined,—Capt. ROBERT ROSS.

**P. 63.** Captain Robert Ross was from 1762 to 1786 in Jamaica. For three years and a half he was book-keeper then on Mr. Dawkin's estate; he was in succession overseer on Mr. Morant's, Lord Dudley's, Dr. Ross's, and Mr. M'Lellan's; he then commanded a company of rangers for six years; settled a property of his own in 1775; resided on it from 1781 to 1786, when he came home.

First impression on seeing the treatment of slaves was, that they were cruelly treated, and that they might

might do their masters work with less severity, and 1791.  
without the whip.

Has seen a negro woman flogged with ebony bushes, so that the skin of her back was taken off down to her heels; she was then turned round and flogged from her breast down to her waist, and in consequence he saw her afterwards walking upon all-four, and unable to get up. He also saw a negro man tied up by the wrists, naked, picketed and flogged with two whips; driver stopped for some minutes and then began again. The punishment might last an hour and a half, and was not by order of a magistrate, but privately by the overseer. At Kingston saw a negro flogged by his master with a two inch rope, from his neck to the waistband, so that his back and body rose in lumps as big as a man's finger. He has seen several so severely flogged as to be disabled from working for days, and even weeks after.

Was acquainted with a master who cut off the P. 64. ears of a slave running away, and acknowledged the fact to him. Saw the slave both before and after; and several others he has also seen with one ear cut off. He has known often severity of punishment, with bad care afterwards, occasion the death of negroes.

Law limits number of lashes to be given in private punishment to 39, but has known negroes receive 200 at a time by order of overseers, where the law would only give 39. Never knew an overseer punished for inflicting them.

Is sure they were inflicted by overseers for crimes which the law upon conviction would not have punished with death.

It is understood if a slave applied to a magistrate he could get redrefs for excessive punishment, or wanton cruelty on the part of his master or other white person. In towns he has frequently known them apply, but not in the country.

- 1791.** General mode of punishing slaves in the towns is by sending them to wharfs or workhouses, where they are punished at the will of their owners. In towns where the magistrate was nigh at hand, understands they gave redress to the slaves who applied as before for it.
- P. 65.**

For some years he resided near the town, but not in any of them, and in that period he has known many instances of severity. Numbers carried to the wharfs at various times.

Instances of extreme severity already stated were all at that time practised in the country. Generality of the field-negroes in every place were more or less marked with the whip.

Has known many negroes on their first arrival, finding themselves to be slaves, destroy themselves; and some also on seeing their fellow-creatures punished. They often run away too for fear of the whip, and of being flogged for neglect of duty. The overseers are frequently turned out of place for overwhipping, when complaint is made to the master or magistrate, and therefore the overseers are now more lenient in their punishments than formerly.

- P. 66.** Overseers also are more attentive now to keeping up the stock of slaves by breeding than formerly. Except Lord Dudley's estate, he knows of none which were not obliged to buy slaves.

There has been a considerable increase of slaves on the estate of Messrs. Muir and Atkinson, and on Mr. Malcolm's estate, where the overseers have taken great care of the slaves both old and young, and studied constantly to promote their master's interest. These the only instances of the kind he knows.

A negro can have no redress for punishment from a magistrate. What induced him to say that a slave could obtain legal redress was, that a negro who was flogged at the wharf at Kingston, and afterwards was so beaten about the head, that his eye was knocked out, and lay upon his cheek, said that he would go shew his eye to Mr. French, who kept a negro wench, and

and had therefore a great attachment to slaves; but 1791. as to having redress from Mr. French as a magistrate, ~~when~~ he never understood he had any.

Does not know if the person who beat out the slave's eye was his owner or only one hired by him. A dozen white persons were present at the time. Does not know that the man was ever called to an P. 67. account for it.

There is a law in Jamaica forbidding owners at one time and for one crime, to give more than 39 lashes to a slave, and if sufficient evidence were produced he has no doubt that the transgressor might be called to an account by a magistrate, but the evidence of a negro is not good against a white man.

He has seen overseers give above 200 lashes, and afterwards flog slaves about the head and shoulders with a cow skin; he never heard of one being called to account for it before a magistrate.

He saw Mr. John Shackle a magistrate in Jamaica flog a negro three times in one day; at breakfast time; dinner time; and at six in the evening. The negro was in the stocks between the floggings. No publick notice was taken of it.

As to persons commonly reputed to have murdered negroes—

\* \* \* \* \* \* \*

he had hanged a negro on a post close to his house, P. 68. and in three years destroyed 40 out of 60 by severity.

\* \* \* \* \* \* \*

He has known slaves severely punished, then put into the stocks, a cattle chain of 60 lb. or 70 lb. weight put on them, and a large collar about their necks, and a weight of 56 lb. fastened to the chain when they were drove afield. They often die in a few days of their severe punishments, for having but little food,

1791. food, and little care, to keep the sores clear after the whipping, their death is often the consequence.

Has known negroes flogged as unwilling to work, who were in fact sick and unable to work, they could not work for many weeks after, and the cause was often want of food.

P. 69. Where there are many negroes the work must be lighter, but it depends on the lenity of overseers.

Bought 59 African negroes, but was never forced to buy any one he did not like, with a view of not separating relatives.

Witness Examined,—Mr. HENRY COOR, of Settle, Yorkshire, Gent.

P. 69. Was in Jamaica 15 years, ending 1774, as a millwright, chiefly in Westmoreland, but did business in three other parishes.

P. 70. After he had been near 18 months there, he had 16 or 20 slaves under his direction. Had about 20 of his own, whom he made mill-wrights and carpenters, among Mr. Beckford's negroes. After they learnt their business, he became partner with one David Thomas, who superintended his Mr. (Coor's) slaves, with a few of his own.

Had great opportunities of observing field-negroes' treatment: was on several estates daily, and had people constantly working there. Generally breakfasted, and often dined with overseers, and saw all their actions as much as any man possibly could. Overseers setting slaves to work, in the morning, was mostly attended with loud peals of whipping. Observed when overseers came early to the field, slaves who came afterwards were sure of whipping over the clothes. Breeches for the men, and petticoats for the women, generally of coarse linen. In this case, a few steps before they join the gang, they throw down the hoe, clap both hands on their heads, and

and patiently take 10 to 15, or 20 lashes: but those 1791. who could not stand without shrinking, were sure to be stretched on the ground, or held by four of their fellows, till they had received their compliment. This slight whipping, as it is generally called, is carried on, more or less, all day. In a gang of about 100, are generally four or five black drivers, with each a whip; and in most fields, one or two white drivers who have only sticks to lean on, while they stand along the line, and direct the black drivers to touch up those they think remiss. About eight o'clock the overseer goes to breakfast, and if he has any criminals at home, he orders a black driver to follow him; for it is then usual to take such out of the stocks, and flog them before the overseer's house. The method generally is this: the delinquent is stripped and tied on a ladder, his legs to the sides, and his arms above his head, and, sometimes a rope is tied round his middle. The driver whips him on the bare skin, and if the overseer thinks he does not lay it on hard enough, he sometimes knocks him down, with his own hand, or makes him change places with the delinquent, and be severely whipped. Has known many receive on the ladder, from 100 to 150 lashes, and some two cool hundreds, as they are generally called. Has known many returned to confinement, and, in 1, 2, or three days, brought to the ladder, and receive the same complement, or thereabouts, as before. They seldom take them off the ladder, until all the skin, from the hams to the small of the back, appears only raw flesh and blood, and then they wash the parts with salt pickle. This appeared to him, from the convulsions it occasioned, more cruel than the whipping; but was done to prevent mortification. Has known many, after such whipping, sent to the field, under a guard, and worked all day, with no food but what their friends might give them, out of their own poor pittance. He has known them returned to the stocks at night, and worked next day, successively. This cruel whipping,

- 1791.** ping, hard working, and starving, has, to his knowledge, made many commit suicide. Remembers 14 slaves, who, from bad treatment, rebelled on a Sunday, ran into the woods, and all cut their throats together. He could relate several other instances, (p. 74.) He has been often a juryman in such cases, and remembers no other verdict given than "Felo " de se," and except once, never knew it opposed, and that was a slave on William's Field estate, who was whipped by order of the overseer, and afterwards beaten by him most inhumanly with a staff over his head. The negro told him he had broke his arm, which he held up to ward off the blow;
- P. 72.** yet he kept on beating him, till the man sprang off, and next morning was found hanging to a tree. An eye-witness declared, in evidence, he believed the negro's arm was broke, and that this cruel treatment made him kill himself. A doctor agreed the arm was much swelled, but could not say it was broke. After a long canvas, the verdict was, as usual, self murder. The Gold Coast negroes, when driven to despair, by harsh usage, always cut their throats; and those of the most inland country, mostly hang themselves.

Once, when dining with an overseer, an old woman, who had run away a few days, was brought home, with her hands tied behind. After dinner, the overseer, with a clerk, named Bakewell, took the woman, thus tied, to the hot house, a place for the sick, and where the stocks are in one of the rooms. Mr. Coor went to work in the mill about 100 yards off, and hearing a most distressful cry from that house, he asked his men, who, and what it was, they said they thought it was old Quasheba. About 5 o'clock the noise ceased, and about the time he was leaving work, Bakewell came to him, apparently in great spirits, and said, " Well, Mr. Coor, old Quasheba is dead. We took her to the stocks room; the overseer threw a rope over the beam; I was jack ketch, and hauled her up, till her feet was off

"off the ground. The overseer locked the door, 1791.  
" and took the key with him, until I now returned ~~now~~  
"with a slave into the stocks, and found her dead." P. 73.  
Mr. C. said, " You have killed her ; I heard her  
" cry all the afternoon." He answered, " D—n  
" her for an old b—h, she was good for nothing,  
" what signifies killing such an old woman as her."  
Mr. C. said, " Bakewell, you shock me," and left  
him. The next morning, his men told him, they  
had helped to bury her ; so here it rested, till another  
affair brought it on the carpet. The poultry  
keeper, a girl about 11 or 12 years of age, brought  
the overseer a young duck that had died, to clear  
herself of having killed it ; that not satisfying him,  
he beat her very severely himself, and then forced  
her to eat up the duck guts, feathers and all, threatening  
her with 5 times as much beating, if she did  
not. The girl thinking more would kill her, tore  
and eat every bit of it. In the evening she com-  
plained to her mother, who went, at night, and com-  
plained to Mr. Beckford's attorney, of that and other  
cruelties of the overseer ; and for one, the story of  
old Quasheba, referring for proof of all, to Mr.  
Coor, who was all the time on the estate. The at-  
torney sent for him, Mr. C. to wait on him next  
morning, which he did, and told him old Quasheba's P. 73.  
story, as related. He was very angry at him, asking  
him how he could see his master's slaves murdered  
so, without telling him (the attorney) of it. He  
said it was not his business to tell him, but such  
cruelties were so common on the estates, that he had  
thought no more of it. The overseer suffered no le-  
gal punishment. The attorney appeared very angry  
with him, at the time, but all was settled, and he  
went on as usual for about half a year, when he  
was dismissed, Mr. C. cannot exactly say for what.

He thought the treatment by the overseers in P. 74.  
general, very severe. He did not think this seve-  
rity necessary, for many substantial reasons he could  
Numb. 4. F give.

1791. give. He proved it himself from ocular demonstration.

P. 87. One George White, kept up so sharp a discipline over a gang of slaves, which fell under his (Coor's) care afterwards, that he generally flogged them very severely for the smallest faults, so that he reduced them both in their persons and faculties. They were never without sores, from his cruelty. The floggings quite disabled them from using the little leisure they had in working their grounds, which was their chief support. Hence they became poor both in body and property, and subject to theft, which he mostly attributed to want; for their sores from beating made them unwilling to stir, when at leisure. When these slaves came under him (Mr. Coor) he used them kindly, excused small faults, promised rewards for good behaviour; such as allowing them time to work their grounds. His first care was to see them make a good use of this time; but after he found their grounds thriving, he had little more to do, and in a few months, from a poor, scabbed, ill-looking, dispirited gang, they became fat, sleek, lively, and worked as chearfully as ever he saw workmen in England; and he could have done more work with them, in one-third less time, than White could have done with all the force of the whip. Good treatment changed their very morals: he could have trusted them with any thing. Being a lieutenant, he was once ordered out after outlaws, by the colonel, who gave him leave to chuse a serjeant's guard of the white militia; he told the colonel, if he pleased he (Mr. Coor) would arm his slaves for that duty, which he did, and found as much fidelity in them, as he could have expected in Englishmen. They pitched their tents round his, saying, they would all die, sooner than he should be hurt. Those slaves were under his care  $13\frac{1}{2}$  years, during which he never flogged one of them. They would have been more ashamed of a small tap, with a supple jack from his hand, than of 100 lashes from their former master.

They

They were grateful in the highest degree. On Sun- 1791.  
day, they often would bring him a fowl, as a present, and never killed a hog, but they saved some choice part for him. He could mention a variety of other instances of their gratitude and affection to him.

An estate, at which he did business at times, in his neighbourhood, belonging to a Mr. Dunn, was a small one when he first went there, not from want of land, but of negroes. It then made about 50 hds. of sugar. He worked his slaves moderately, and his wife took great care of the sick, lying-in women and P. 88. children, who seemed to swarm on this estate, and he never heard any complaint of the locked jaw there. To Mr. C's knowledge, in a few years, this estate doubled its produce, and before he, Mr. C. left Jamaica, he had settled another thriving estate, under his eldest son, which then made about 60 hds. and all, to the best of his knowledge, had arisen out of the small stock of slaves before-mentioned, except six new negroes bought. He could not but have P. 89. known it, had more been bought. A neighbouring estate to this, whose situation was far superior for health and ease in getting provisions, yet perpetually decreased in slaves, owing, in his, and other peoples opinions, to inhuman treatment. The owner, who managed it himself, very often, to Mr. C's knowledge, bought 20, 30, or 40 new slaves at a lot, and, in about 10 or 11 years, the estate was very much reduced, both in produce and negroes; so that from good circumstances, his credit was in that time reduced to a very low ebb, which, he verily believes, arose from ill-treating his slaves. It would be to no purpose to tell the particulars. Some instances of his capricious cruelties are too bad to relate.

He has always thought the rearing of children well worth the planter's notice; but so inattentive did he always find them to it, that he has heard overseers say, they would far rather the children should die than live; nor did he ever see any proper preparation for the reception of them. The sides of the

**1791.** huts they are born in, are no more defence against the cold night damps, than one of our pasture hedges. Bedding they have none, but a board or bass mat. When the child is born, the midwife asks the overseer for something for the woman; a bottle of rum, P. 90. and 2 or 3 pound of salt beef, which does well enough, for they seldom fail to recover. But they never put the infant to the mother's breast, till 8 days be over, for which time a woman out of the field nurses it, who probably has a child 2, 3, or 4 months old. Here he submits to medical men, what effect the milk of a woman, hardly wrought and poorly fed, under a vertical sun, would have on a tender infant. They mostly die convulsed, generally about the 8th day. This want of care is more lamentable, not only from humanity, but interest, for if they survive the 8th day, they mostly do well, and he very seldom remembered any dying, from the 8th day to the 8th year. What convinces him farther it is for want of care, is, because, where they have warm houses, kind treatment, and the child set to the mother's breast, he very seldom knew any die; and it was neither labour nor expence to raise them, after the fatal 8th day was over. It is his firm opinion, that with kind and judicious treatment of the infants, the slaves in Jamaica will increase, without any importations from Africa.

It was more overseers object to work slaves out, and trust for African supplies, than work them moderately, and keep them up by breeding; for he has heard many say, "I have made my employer 20, 30, " or 40 more hhds. per year than my predecessors, " and though I have killed 30 or 40 negroes per " year more, yet the produce has been more than " adequate to the loss."

P. 91. The slaves can expect no redress, but from the attorney. Many of them have commissions on the produce, and, if they give ear to the slaves complaints, the overseer will tell them he will leave the estate. If he makes great crops, Mr. C. has often observed

observed the attorney wink at his pressing the slaves 1791.  
to perform more work than human nature could bear. ~~~

Most of the field slaves are marked with the whip,  
not only Africans, but creoles. Has known many  
very well disposed creole negroes, that have had  
wheals from their hams up to the small of their  
backs; but this is nothing thought of, as it is so  
common.

It is natural to think that slaves will suffer from  
their master's being in debt; for they are generally  
hard worked, and ill clothed and fed. He could  
mention, as instances, 2 or 3 neighbouring estates.

Domesticks are very often treated ill, without redress,  
from their master's caprice. He has heard  
many say, they would rather be under the field hard-  
ship, than in the house. He boarded about 6 months P. 91.  
with a doctor, who used his field-slaves ill, but he  
daily saw how his domesticks were treated. He  
made no more of knocking down his waiting-boy,  
than if he had been a piece of wood, for what Mr. C.  
thought no fault at all. Two house-wenches were  
treated the same way. One of them having broken  
a plate, or spilt a cup of tea, he nailed her ear to a  
post. Mr. C. remonstrated in vain. They went to  
bed and left her there; in the morning she was gone,  
having torn the head of the nail through her ear.  
She was soon brought back, and when he came to  
breakfast, he found she had been very severely whip-  
ped by the doctor, who, in his fury, clipt both her  
ears off close to her head, with a pair of large scis-  
fars, and she was set to pick seeds out of cotton, a-  
mong 3 or 4 more, emaciated by his cruelties, until  
they were fit for nothing else. This girl never ap-  
plied for legal redress. The negroes generally  
thought they could have no redress, but from their  
masters or attorneys. He believes no more notice  
was taken of the deed, than if he had cut off his dog's  
ears. Thinks some magistrates could hardly miss  
knowing it; for several visited at the doctors. The  
girl waited at table with her ears off.

He

1791. He never knew a field slave have more than a breeding sow and a few poultry, and thinks it impossible for such to get any property. Never knew even tradesmen possess any thing, though they have more opportunities of accumulating than a field-slave.

P. 93. Slaves were forced to carry from their grounds, whatever they could spare from the bread of their family, to buy salt provisions for all the week. One negro would carry about 4 bits worth, more or less, according to the varying market price, which they lay out in eatables or clothes; for, in general, they had only 5 yards of cloth, worth about seven-pence, or seven-pence half-penny per yard.

Slaves were fed inany ways, but the most common was, depending on their little grounds. The poorer, who never had spirits or ability to cultivate them, depended on some one of the plantation slaves, for whom they worked all the little time they were allowed. Does not speak of new negroes; for they are generally distributed to the plantation slaves, who have the best grounds, under whom they work all the little time they are excused from their master's business. They have land, which overseers think they should bring into some order, while under the said negroes; but too often, from quarrels with the master slaves, they are turned out of doors before their grounds are in perfection, and obliged to steal

P. 94. or beg. Thinks this the greatest reason why there are so many bad slaves. Slaves land, wherever he has been, is quite sufficient; but they have not time to work it.

Dead mules, horses, cows, &c. were all burnt, under inspection of a white man. Had they been buried, the negroes would have dug them up in the night, to eat them through hunger. It was generally said to be done, to prevent the negroes from eating them, lest it should breed disorders.

On Shrewsbury estate, the overseer sent for a slave, and in talking with him, he hastily struck him on the

the head with a small hanger, and gave him two stabs about the waist. The slave said, "Overseer, you have killed me." He pushed him out of the piazza. The slave went home and died that night. He was buried, and no more said about it. Mr. C's house was on this estate, near the overseer's house. About 6 months after, the overseer moved thence, to Anchovie-Bottom estate, why, Mr. C. cannot tell; but knows it was not for this. This was about 1770. He was called a very valuable overseer, as he worked the slaves hard, and made great crops of sugar. It was generally believed he had killed 2 more at Anchovie-Bottom; as a proof of this,—it being whispered, among the neighbours, that these two made three slaves he had killed, and it being looked upon then, that the killing of three slaves was capital, he thought proper to go privately away, and Mr. C. never heard more of him. A. Mr. Foot, (an inferior attorney under Mr. Herring) Mr. C. is P. 95. clear, knew the particulars of the first-mentioned murder, having often talked with him on that, and many similar subjects; but knows not, if Mr. Foot told it to Mr. Herring. He never heard of the least attempt to bring the overseer to justice; but has heard Mr. Foot say, he was a very good overseer, but a d——d wicked dog when drunk. Mr. C. is pretty clear he was drunk when he did that deed.

The slaves allowed food, in Jamaica, was mostly herrings. He has known about 2 barrels among 100, 150, or 160 slaves, at a time; about once a month or six weeks; and he is clear, that every common man's share, was very seldom above 7 or 8 herrings. The field-negroes had no other allowance; and sometimes he has seen herrings so rotten, as to have been measured out, all mashed up like a porridge.

He bought 6 boys and 2 girls from a Guinea ship. He took a slave with him to interpret, and who asked the slaves he bought, if they had had the yaws. They all told him they had, their skin being then very

1791. very clean and black; but in 6 weeks or two months, they all broke out violently with the yaws. They then spoke a little English, and he asked them, if they had not the yaws in their country. They said yes; but when they came near buccra country, the P. 96. buccra on board rubbed them with something that made their skin clean. He has known several Guineamen in port 2 or 3 weeks, before declaring sale, or allowing any inhabitant to go on board (which they never allow, until they have declared sale) and it was always reported, that this delay was to get the slaves in proper trim for sale.

Jobbing gangs were increasing much when he left Jamaica. Every overseer or white man, who had money or credit, bought new negroes to job them out. He could have had £14 per cent. for his money, in that way, and have had it insured; but masters that work them themselves in that way, make much more.

Epidemicks are much more fatal to poor and ill fed, than to well fed, hearty slaves. But one fatal epidemick (a flux) prevailed while he was there. It attacked all ranks of whites and blacks; and it was generally poor, ill fed negroes, that died of it. Few well fed negroes died of it, and not one white person.

On some estates, the negroes provision grounds are close at hand; on others tolerably near; but he knows several, where they were 4 or five miles off.

Always observed negroes, who had grounds in tolerable order, work with great pleasure; but those who were turned into them only covered with woods and bushes, had very ill heart to begin upon them, and generally were obliged to spend that time they should have laid out upon their grounds, in working under some other negro, for present support.

- P. 97. Has often known the different offices of overseer, doctor and attorney, on an estate, filled by the same person.

Runaway

Runaway slaves never take refuge among the Ma- 1790.  
roons; for these are a check on them. They have ~~~~~  
£3 per head for taking them, and a shilling for every  
mile they bring them.

On one estate, most of the slaves were christened and instructed by a person sent from Europe, and they were always the best disposed slaves in that neighbourhood; but on no other estates did he ever hear such a thing named. Of a number of slaves taken from Guadaloupe, one family was bought by a neighbour of his, and the doctor told him, the father of that family had prayers in his house night and morning. He does not remember the estate, where the slaves were instructed, buying any new slaves, and they were always very strong handed. He was very well acquainted with the whole gang, as he took care of their mills, &c. for most of the time he was there.

Promiscuous intercourse was very common, both among the slaves, and between the white men and negro women. There was no restriction. It was the greatest disgrace for a white man, not to cohabit with some woman or other. No attempts were made to induce the men slaves to restrict themselves to one woman. It was not considered any way disadvantageous to an estate, for the men to have 1, 2, 3, or 4 wives, according as they could maintain them with P. 98. the produce of their little spots of ground. The negroes wives were not at all secure from the attempts of the overseer or book-keepers; for though a man might know of his wife having lain with the overseer or book-keeper, he dared not resent it, either to her or to them, for if he did, he would be sure of a very smart flogging for it, though probably on some other pretext.

In Boston, Rhode-Island, New-York, New-Jerseys, and Pennsylvania, the slaves are treated much like farmers servants in England, and he saw them carry on their masters business just in the same way. Where a master had 3, 4, or more slaves, one of

Numb. 4.

G

them

1791. them was mostly a leading man. He has often conversed with such head man on farming, ploughing, &c. and always found him very intelligent.

Thinks a great deal of his evidence has tended to shew, that the behaviour of the negroes generally correspond with their treatment.

At his first going to the island, a common flogging would put him in a tremble, so that he did not feel right for the rest of the day; but by degrees it became so habitual, that he thought no more of seeing a black man's head cut off, than he should now think of a butcher cutting off the head of a calf.

Witness examined—JOHN GILES,

Near Hay, Brecknockshire, — Farmer.

P. 74. Was in Montserrat from 1757 to 1762; in Grand-terre 1763; in Grenada 1764, and part 1765; in N. America rest of 1765; in St. Croix from 1766 to 1772; in England 1773; in St. Croix 1774 to 1778.

His first impression in the West Indies was, that slaves were cruelly treated, severely punished for trifling offences, and not sufficiently fed.

P. 75. He arrived in crop time; there was then no food allowed, except a furnace of horse-beans or potatoes daily boiled for the weaker part of the gang. Out of crop, the allowance was from four to six pints of horse-beans, rice, or Indian corn, and four to six herrings weekly, to each slave.

A great deal of land allowed them, but no time to cultivate it, except Sunday; when they were also obliged to pick large bundles of grass, morning and night; many too, watched the works in rotation; no other day was allowed in lieu of the time lost to them on these occasions.

Picking of grass is ever a great hardship, particularly in dry seasons: they are forced to do it on week days,

days, in the time allowed for dinner, and after 1791.  
fun-set.

Has often known slaves steal from hunger.

Knows of no care taken to instruct slaves, or induce them to marry.

Their capacity is good, and their disposition better than might be expected from persons so untutored.

Severe treatment is no ways necessary. On two estates where he lived, the increase of the slaves, under a milder treatment, exceeded decrease by one per cent. There was also more work done, as they did P. 76. not run away as on other estates, where treated ill.

The slaves were very inhumanly treated on the estate he lived on in Montserrat: the field gang was not assorted as to strength, the weak slaves being forced to work as much as the strong.

Recollects several shocking instances of punishment there; in particular, the driver, at day-break, once informed the overseer, that one, of 4 or 5 negroes, chained, in a dungeon, would not rise: he accompanied overseer to the dungeon, who set the others that were in the chain to drag him out, and not rising when out, he ordered a bundle of cane trash to be put round him, and set fire to. As he still did not rise, he had a small soldering iron heated, and thrust between his teeth. As the man did not yet rise, he had the chain taken off, and sent him to the hospital, where he languished some days, and died. Though the owner resided on the estate, never heard that he condemned this conduct, which if he had, he, (Mr. G.) must have knew it. He could, if necessary, relate several other instances. The overseer, so far from being punished, or called to account for this action, was always in great favour with his masters. Slaves often ran away, and when retaken P. 77. were punished by severe whippings, by chains, by very hard work, and often not released from the chain till, being so emaciated, they were in danger of dying. The deaths exceeded the births more than two to one. The estate did not prosper, the gentle-

1791. man was almost ruined by it. The mortality was chiefly among the grown field slaves, by their being hard worked, cruelly punished, and sparingly fed.

Thinks the slaves were often so fatigued by the labour of the week, as scarcely to be capable of working their own ground on Sunday.

The marks of the whip were to be seen on almost all the weaker part of the gang, from forcing them to keep up with the rest.

Pregnant women punished, but not very severely.

When slaves were so old as to be past labour, their

P. 78. owners did not feed them.

Negroes might be managed with comparative ease, were their temper and disposition attended to. The business might then be done in a better manner, and without such frequent flogging.

Never heard that slaves had any protection from ill usage from owners, or those under them.

Never knew one planter interfere with the treatment of the slaves of another.

Never heard any thing of the locked jaw. They had children die sometimes; but neither overseer nor doctor interfered; they were left to old women, the midwives.

The treatment in Grenada was exactly similar to that in Montserrat; he saw no difference.

The merit of a manager was estimated by the quantity of crops produced on the estate.

A manager of Grenada told him of a great cruelty he had committed. Several negroes and mules had died on the estate; an old woman was suspected of having poisoned them. He, (Mr. G.) asked the manager if they had not given her up to the law, who said no, they had taken a shorter method with her. They made a bit of a thatched hut, put her into it, with some combustibles, and burnt her to death. The manager was not discharged for this: thinks he told him it was done by the owner's desire. It was not told him as a secret.

Never

Never heard of any care taken at African sales to 1791.  
prevent the separation of relations.

Never knew pains taken to improve mode of cultivation, or implements of husbandry, except in that of cutting cane tops by a machine. Plough might be applied with great effect in these two islands in easing the labour of slaves.

Slaves in St. Croix were better used than in either of the two British islands, but not so well as they ought, were the planters attentive to their interest; and if properly treated, believes their increase would be general throughout the islands.

Never heard that the slaves had any protection there.

Planters there reside on their estates, and do not live so extravagantly as in the English islands.

Recollects an instance of the effects of treatment of slaves. Where he was manager, the slaves were forced to be up at two in the morning, at a time when canes were cutting, on 80 acres of a rising ground, which, from a want of mules, they were also obliged to carry half a mile upon their heads. This year the slaves decreased. He prevailed on the owner to buy six mules more against next crop; that and the following year the slaves increased one per cent. Was perfectly convinced that the decrease and increase spoke to, was in consequence of the difference of labour.

Never heard talk of the Code Noir while in Grande Terre: if it had been usual for slaves to be any way relieved by it, they would have sought redress for the very severe usage of a man who was his partner in a distillery: the commanders, to whom he was very obnoxious, would certainly have taken cognizance of his conduct to his slaves, had it been usual to do so.

Thinks one half of the domestics of the planters of Montserrat and Grenada unnecessary.

The Chief Judge at Montserrat was the Honourable John

1791. John Dyer. Grenada, while he was there, was under military law.

The judges were planters—not, he believes, bred to the law—removable at the King's pleasure.

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Witness examined—MATTHEW TERRY,

Of Aiskrig, Yorkshire, Land Surveyor.

P. 82. Was four years in Dominique as book-keeper and overseer, one at Tobago as a land-surveyor, in the King's service, and seven in Grenada, ending in 1781, as a colony surveyor.

His trade gave him full opportunity of observing the treatment of slaves. They appeared in general to be used with great severity; believes they generally understood that the law restricted the number of lashes to 39; but this was not in the least observed; has seen it broken repeatedly; never knew any redress obtained. It was usual to rub their backs with brine after severe punishments.

P. 83. In his time one Thochard, a French planter, in Grenada, was generally supposed to treat his slaves very cruelly, and for trivial offences to cut off their ears and legs, and otherwise mutilate them. Heard of no attempt to punish him. Saw upon his estate two men-slaves with wooden legs.

The greatest property he ever knew a field slave possess was two pigs, and a little poultry. The slave has not the means of getting much property, (p. 85).

Little or no attention was paid to the breeding of slaves; child-bearing, and consequent loss of labour, was matter of regret to planters; little or no difference in the punishments of pregnant females and others. The planters appeared to prefer increasing their crop to increasing their slaves, (p. 85) to depend upon African supplies, and desirous to have as many males as possible.

Very

Very considerable losses were common among the ~~1791.~~ newly imported Africans. One-third die within the ~~one~~ first year. Of a lot of six, bought by himself, two died within the first year, and at the end of five years two only survived. P. 85.

Suicide is common, particularly among the Ebos. Never heard of an instance of it among creole slaves. The latter are more industrious, being inured to it from their infancy.

Seldom run away. Insurrections are confined to Africans.

Never knew a slave buy his freedom.

No allowance of grain or flour given to any but new negroes. Has known a bunch of plantanes (sufficient for a week's allowance) given to each negro once or twice a year. P. 86.

Many managers possess slaves of their own.

Land surveying is exceedingly laborious in the West Indies; he pursued it for 7 years without injury to his health: has often seen mill-wrights at work in the sun, whose health did not suffer. There are also white blacksmiths and coopers there, but the latter only direct negroes working under them.

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Witness examined—Capt. HALL, of the Royal Navy.

Was at Barbadoes and the Leeward islands from 1769 to 1773, and from 1780 to 1782 at those places, and at Jamaica and St. Domingo. P. 99.

The treatment of negroes on the B. islands appeared to him tolerable in the towns; on the plantations rather inhuman. Punishments inflicted were very shocking to persons not used to see them: much more so than on board a man of war. The field slaves he has seen (a great many) were generally marked with the whip.

In cases of ill treatment by their masters, it was generally understood, they could not obtain redress; against

**1791.** against others, their master assisted them. That this severe system was not necessary, nor for the master's interest, he is confident, from the good effects he has seen result from a lenient treatment in the French islands: for instance, the Marquis de Rouvray was particularly attentive to population, and the good treatment of his slaves at St. Domingo: they were never hard pressed in their work: he suffered no improper intercourse between the males and females, every man had his own wife, and no white was suffered to disjoin that union: the parties were punished for separating without cause.

Hospitals were built for the sick and pregnant; the latter, when far advanced, were taken in there, and employed in trifling work to the time of delivery. Here they might remain separated from their husbands, and excused from field labour, till the child could be supported without the mother's help; or when their strength would permit, return with the child to their husbands, and take the chance of work. In consequence, the Marquis had not for some years occasion to buy negroes. Having, however, left his estate to the care of a nephew, upon his return, after an absence of two years, instead of the happiness that reigned when he left it, he found nothing but misery and discontent; the whites had seized upon the pretty women; their husbands through discontent ran away; and the labour falling heavier upon the rest, they became discontented, and their work badly carried on; so that it cost him two years before he could re-establish order. It was a pleasure to walk through this estate, for the slaves used to look up to him as a father.

In the British islands breeding not thought desirable: they rather thought it a misfortune to have pregnant women, or even young slaves. They esteemed the charge of rearing a child to maturity, more troublesome, and greater, than buying a slave fit for work; and it was not uncommon for them to give away a child of two years old, as you would a puppy

puppy from a litter. Has heard an overseer, of some 1791. consequence, express this opinion. It was, in fact, his system to prevent population, as far as in his power; and he understood this to be a general system.

So little care was taken of infants, that mothers deemed it a misfortune to have children. After the month, they were sent to field labour, with their child upon their back, and so little time afforded them to attend to its wants, that he has seen a woman seated to give suck to her child, roused from that situation by a severe blow from the cart whip.

Domestic slaves, from their general good treatment, were understood to increase.

Believes, that slaves suffered from the owner's absence, because it was the busines of the overseer, for his own credit, to make as much sugar as possible; to do this, he must work the slaves to the utmost: it being no concern of his whether they died or not.

Knows, from an instance which fell under his eye, that the slave's death may be occasioned by severe punishment, and the master not be called to legal account.

As to the slave-trade being a nursery for seamen, he conceives it to be quite the reverse.

In taking men out of merchant-ships for the King's service, he has from the crew of a Guinea-man, 70, been able to select only 30, who could be thought fit to serve in any ship of war, and when those were surveyed, he was reprimanded for bringing such men into the service, who were more likely to breed distempers, than be of use; and this was at a time when they were so much wanted, that almost any thing would have been taken, viz. in 1782, when they had not men to man the prizes taken on the 12th of April. The instance related was not a particular case, he found it generally so; having had many opportunities between 1769 and

**1791.** 1773 of seeing the great distresses of crews of Guinea ships, when in the West Indies.

Has great reason to believe, that in no trade are seamen so badly treated; from their always flying to men of war for redress, and whenever they come within reach; whereas men from West Indies or other trades seldom apply to a ship of war.

As to peculiar modes of punishment adopted in Guineamen, he once saw a man chained by the neck in the main-top of a slave-ship, when passing under the stern of his Majesty's ship the Crescent, in Kingston-bay, St. Vincents; and was told by part of the crew, taken out of the ship at their own request, that the man had been there 120 days.

Is clearly of opinion, that white men might do the lighter field work, without injury to their health, as seamen go through very heavy work there unhurt.

Witness examined—**Capt. G I L E S,** of the  
19th Regiment of Foot.

**P. 103.** Was in Barbadoes, Antigua, St. Lucia, and Jamaica, from June 1782 to April 1790, except about 15 months in England.

Thought the treatment of slaves generally severe. Field slaves in general marked with the whip.

**P. 104.** Punishment by whipping (though fewer lashes given) more severe and cruel than that of the army, because of the size of the whip.

Had once an opportunity of observing the treatment of a jobbing gang, which he thought beyond what human nature could support for any length of time, because their allowance of food, (which he daily saw) was not equal to support them, and this he understood to be generally the case. This gang had the same respite at noon as plantation negroes, but as some of them would eat their week's allowance in 3 or 4 days, they were obliged to carry wood and

and water, between twelve and two o'clock, for the 1791. soldiers, for which they were paid in provisions. Has understood it to be calculated, that a jobbing gang, lasting for seven years, would bring a profit to the owner.

He had no opportunity of seeing that superannuated slaves were not properly taken care of by their owners.

Can speak to the inefficiency of laws to protect P. 105. slaves against the ill usage of their masters or other white persons. Was told by a planter, that he once heard one of his own negroes was killed by his overseer. He had the body taken up, and there was found upon it some chains or fetters (p. 106.) but the overseer could not be punished for want of a white evidence.

A free woman, and her two children, were claimed by a person in Jamaica, as his property, who confined them, in order to sell them to the Spaniards. He, (Capt. G.) heard of the circumstance, and interfered, knowing the person could have no claim either to the woman or her children. She, with her husband, had joined the royal army in South Carolina: he worked in one of the public departments as a carpenter, and a driver, and she laboured upon the lines at the quarter-house camp.

After two trials at the Surry assizes, Kingston, the woman and her children were liberated; which must have been the case at the first, had black evidence been admitted; of which he could have produced people bred upon the same estate, and neighbourhood, who also had free tickets from the Governor, Sir A. C.

Without his interference believes this woman and children must have been sold as slaves, because none on the island so well knew the circumstances as himself. Another case, previous to this, was that of a woman claimed by a person in Jamaica, who, supported by Major Nesbit, of the 19th regiment, was also rescued from slavery, after a trial at the Surry assizes.

1791. Once saw, in Jamaica, a negro mason with a wooden leg, at work: upon asking the white people who superintended the work, how he had lost his leg, was answered, that it was for no good, for the fellow used to run away for months at a time.

The slaves situation and treatment will vary according to the disposition and circumstances of the owner; for on one or two estates in the neighbourhood of his station, the slaves were well treated; they appeared much happier than on several others adjoining; (consequently he imagines better fed.) Thinks none of these stole to supply their wants, as was frequently the case with other gangs in the neighbourhood.

Saw the negroes go weekly to market, a distance of 14 or 15 miles.

Witness examined—JOHN TERRY, of Askrig,  
Yorkshire.

P. 107. Was in Grenada from 1776 to 1790. First 7 or 8 years an overseer, then a manager.

Thought the slaves treatment very bad; it hurt him much at first; in time became more inured to it.

Has known slaves punished by managers severely for trifling faults; durst not complain to owner, for fear of worse treatment; has known them punished for so doing by owner, and sent back, though their P. 108. complaint was just. Field slaves usually bear marks of the whip. Never heard that a slave complained to a magistrate of his owner, manager, overseer, or attorney.

Has known the same person both attorney, manager, and doctor, on one estate.

Never knew a planter or manager interfere with another's treatment of his slaves,

Has

Has known estates, where slaves were worse fed 1791.  
and clothed than on others; in consequence, were great thieves; eat also putrid carcases. Food is the general object of theft among slaves, and at the hazard of their lives.

Picking of grafts a considerable addition to their labour. Done at dinner-time, and after sun-set. P. 109.

An overseer, on the estate where he was, (Mr. Coghlan) threw a slave into the boiling cane juice, who died in four days. He was not punished otherwise than by replacing the slave, and being dismissed the service. Was told of this by the owner's son, the carpenter, and many slaves on the estate. Has heard it often.

Has known entertainments given among negroes; some of which might cost a thirty-six shilling piece, but such were very rare, (p. 110.)

A field slave in favourable circumstances, (he does not mean the commonality) may earn about six bits a week: he has known them so poor as not to be able to buy poultry. Never heard of a field negro buying his freedom, (p. 110.)

Slaves were not allowed to keep sheep on any P. 110. estate he knew. On some they might keep two or three goats, but very few allowed it. Some keep a few pigs, and poultry, if able to buy any.

While a manager, he never received any directions about attention to pregnant women or children. Has heard managers say, it was cheaper to buy African slaves than to breed: that they wished the children to die, for they lost much of the mother's work during their infancy.

The best recommendation of a manager was, that he made the most sugar.

On the estates he knew, the sexes were about equal.

Of imported Africans, women have the best chance P. 111. for life.

On the estates he knew, more men died than women,

Never

**1791.** Never knew any children die of the locked-jaw.  
 ~~~~~ Free negroes were generally as well-behaved as others in the same rank of society. Those who had learnt a trade, worked as journeymen with white masters: those who had not, went a fishing, by which they earned more than by field work.

The driver's whip is a severe instrument, and will bring blood through the breeches. Twenty stripes severely laid on the bare breech, may unfit a man for work for two or three days.

The opinion in Grenada, upon passing the last slave act there, was, that it never would have the intended effect.

P. 112. Did not observe it make any difference, except in the half-days in the week.

The clergymen of the parish where he resided never performed the duty the act imposed on them.

Never heard of any complaints against them for non-performance of it.

Witness examined—JOHN BOWMAN,

Clerk to a Ship-Builder of Whitehaven.

P. 112. Was in the African employ, from 1765 to 1776, mostly on the Windward Coast, as third, second, and chief mate. Sent up the country as a trading mate to buy slaves, ivory, and cam-wood; a distance of 20 to 40 or 50 miles, in the rivers Scassus, S. Leone, Junk, within the rocks of Grand Bassau, and Little Cape Mount River.

Was eight months as a factor at the head of S. Leone; and 17 to 18 months at that of the R. Scassus. Traded in a boat at Junk, Grand Bassau, and Little Cape Mount Rivers.

P. 113. Having settled at the head of Scassus with 10 slaves money, he informed the King, and others, that he was come to reside as a trader, his orders being

being to supply them with powder and ball, and 1791. encourage them to go to war. They answered they would go to war in two or three days: by that time they came to the factory, said they were going to war, and wanted powder, ball, rum, and tobacco. They were dressed in some kind of skins, with large caps, and their faces painted white, to make them look dreadful. They asked for a drink of rum, which when given them, they went off to the number of 25 or 30. After six or seven days some of P. 114. them returned with two women, and a girl, 6 or 7 years old.

They said they had got these in a small town which they surprised in the night, that others had got off, but they expected the rest of the party would bring them in, in 2 or 3 days. When these arrived, they brought with them two men whom he knew, and had traded with. Upon questioning them, discovered the women he had bought, to be their wives. Both men and women informed him that the war-men had taken them while asleep.

The war-men used to go out once or twice in 8 P. 115. or 10 days, while he was at Scassus; it was their constant way of getting slaves, he believed, because they always came to the factory before setting out, and demanded powder, ball, gunflints, and small shot; also rum, tobacco, and a few other articles. When supplied, they blew the horn, made the war cry, and set off. If they met with no slaves, they would bring him some ivory, cam-wood, &c. Sometimes he accompanied them a mile or so, and once joined the party, anxious to know by what means they obtained the slaves. Having travelled all day, they came to a small river, when he was told they had but a little way further to go; after crossing which, they delayed till dark. When they had got over, (about the middle of the night) he was afraid to go further, and asked the king's son to leave him a guard of 4 men. In half an hour he heard the war cry, by which he understood they had reached a town;

1791. town; in about half an hour more they returned, bringing 25 to 30 men, women, and children, some P. 116. at the breast. At this time he saw the town in flames. When they had re-crossed the river, it was just day-light, and they reached Scassus about mid-day. The prisoners were carried to different parts of the town. They are usually brought in with strings around their necks, and some have their hands tied across. Never saw any slaves there who had been convicted of crimes.

Has been called up in the night to see fires, and told by the town's people, that it was war carrying on.

Whatever rivers he has traded in, he has usually passed burnt and deserted villages, and learned from the natives in the boat with him, that war had been there, and the natives taken and carried to the ships.

P. 117. He has also seen such upon the coast: while trading at Grand Bussau, he went ashore with four black traders to the town a mile off. In the way, there was a town deserted, only 2 or 3 houses standing, which seemed to have been a large one from two fine plantations of rice. A little further on, they came to another village in much the same state. Was told the first town was taken by war, there being many ships then lying at Bussau: the people of the other had moved higher up in the country, for fear of the white men. In passing along to the traders town saw several deserted, destroyed, they said, by war, and the people taken out and sold.

Slaves were obtained in the same manner in those rivers where he traded on the Windward Coast.

The inhabitants of all these places subsist on rice, yams, cassada, fowls, deer, fish, and an animal called tomboer. They raise more rice, &c. than they consume, and dispose of the surplus to such ships as may be lying in the rivers, sending it down in large canoes. While at Scassus, he gave frequent P. 118. orders for goods from S. Leone, which he desired might be sent up by these periocas, having found the men

men good and honest. Provisions of every kind 1791.
were abundant in the town. Has seen countrymen ~~—~~
carrying baskets of 40 or 50lb. weight of rice, be-
sides fowls, eggs, &c. which he has bought in ex-
change for tobacco and beads.

The natives appeared to be industrious, and dis-
posed to trade in their native produce. Believes
they would have cultivated more ground, if a greater
supply had been wanted by the shipping. When
asked, they have said they would like to trade with
good white men in their own produce, and would
soon make more plantations of rice.

When under Captain Strangeways, the ship then P. 119.
lying in the river S. Leone, at White-man's bay,
ready to sail, he was ordered down from the factory,
(all the ship's company being then dead but five)
and the captain, who sent him on shore to invite
two traders on board. They came, and were shewn
into the cabin. Meantime people were employed in
setting the sails, it being almost night, and the land
breeze making down the river. When they had
weighed anchor, and got out to sea, the witness was
called down by the captain, who, pointing to the
sail case, desired him to look into it, and see what a
fine prize he had got. To his surprise, he saw lying
fast asleep the two men who had come on board with
him, the captain having made them drunk, and con-
cealed them there. When they awoke, they were sent
upon deck, ironed, and put forward among the other
slaves. On arrival at Antigua, they were sold.

The natives were afraid to come along-side of a P. 120.
vessel when under sail.

Frauds were practised by Europeans in the articles
they traded in with the natives; such as in rum, by
mixing it; in powder kegs, seemingly large, but hold-
ing only a little; in false steelyards and weights.

The natives, where he resided, were friendly and
hospitable; just and punctual in their dealings.

When he began to settle at the river Scassus, there
were only four or five houses there, and about 25

Numb. 4.

I

people,

1791. people, so that he was doubtful if he could do it to advantage: but informing the king, that a white man was come to trade with them, was told that strangers would come and settle there. In the course of a few days, several people came and built houses, and the town increased fast, (p. 121.) So that there might be 40 to 50 houses, and 120 to 130 inhabitants when he left it.

P. 121. Has been in Jamaica, Antigua, Grenada, St. Vincent's, Dominique, and Barbadoes, in most of which he has seen Guinea seamen lying about in an ulcerated abject state, without means of support.

Witness examined,—JOHN DOUGLAS, Boatswain of the Russel Man of War.

P. 121. Sailed to Africa in 1771, in the Warwick-Castle slave ship. Only one voyage in the trade; because he could not bear with the filthiness and disagreeableness of the voyage.

Seamen were well used in his ship; not suffered to lodge between decks when the slaves were on board.

P. 122. Lost 7 out of 53. Had plenty of provisions.

Had reason to believe that the crews of other ships on the coast, were neither so well fed, nor treated; because boats from the Gregson, and others, which he cannot mention, came often aboard, and the seamen begged much for provisions.

As to the ways in which slaves are procured: when ashore at Bonny Point, he saw a young woman come out of the wood to the water-side to bathe; soon after, two men came from the wood, seized, bound and beat her, for making resistance, and bringing her to him, desired him to put her on board, which he did; the captain's orders were, when any body brought down slaves, instantly to put them off to the ship.

When

When a ship arrives at Bonny, the king sends his 1791. war canoes up the rivers, where they surprize all they can lay hold of. They had a young man on board, who was thus captured, with his father, mother, and three sisters. The young man afterwards in Jamaica having learnt English, told him the story, and said it was a common practice.

War canoes always armed.

P. 123.

Slaves sent in the king's canoes, came openly in the day, others in the evening, with one or two bound, lying in the boat's bottom, covered with mats.

Near Cape Coast, the natives make smoke as a signal for trade; they saw the smoke and stood in shore, which brought off many canoes: pipes, tobacco, and brandy, were got on deck, to entice them on board; the gratings were unlaid, the slave-room cleared, and every preparation made to seize them; two only could be prevailed on to come up the ship's side, who stood in the main chains, but on the seamens approaching them, they jumped off, and the canoes all made for shore.

The Gregson's people, while at Bonny, informed them, that in running down the coast, they had kidnapped 32. He saw slaves on board that ship when she came in; and it is not customary for vessels bound to Bonny, to stop and trade by the way.

Does not think slaves are much subject to sea-fickness.

Has been in the West Indies in the king's and merchants service, from 1766 to 1782.

Has frequently seen Guinea seamen lying or wandering about the streets and wharfs, mostly in Jamaica, in a diseased and miserable condition: they were called wharfingers; it was on the north-side of the island he has seen the most; many of whom were not capable of walking to Kingston for relief.

Recollects to have seen 3 funerals of Guinea slaves in the West Indies, at which they sing and are mer-

1791. ry; and naming the deceased, they say, he is going
home to Guinea.

Witness examined,—Major General TOTTENHAM.

P. 125. Went out to the West Indies in 1779, with four regiments under his command. Was about 20 months in Barbadoes, and sometime at St. Lucia, St. Kitt's, and St. Eustatius.

Thinks the slaves in Barbadoes were treated with the greatest cruelty. Cannot judge of the other islands, from his short stay there.

All the punishments he saw were remarkably severe. Was at a planter's house, when the jumper came. Heard him ask the master, if he had any commands for him. He said, no. Jumper then asked the mistress, who replied, yes. She directed him to take out two very decent women, who attended at table, and to give each of them a dozen. General T. expostulated with her, but in vain. They were taken out to the publick parade, and he had the curiosity to go with them. The jumper carried a long whip, like our waggoners. He ordered one of the women to turn her back, and to take up her clothes entirely, and he gave her a dozen on the

P. 126. breech. Every stroke brought flesh from her. She behaved with astonishing fortitude. After the punishment, she, according to custom, curtesied and thanked him. The other had the same punishment, and behaved in the same way. About 3 weeks before the hurricane, he saw a youth, about 19, walking in the streets, in a most deplorable situation, intirely naked, and an iron collar about his neck, with five long, projecting spikes. His body, before and behind his breech, belly and thighs, were almost cut to pieces, and with running sores all over them, and you might put your fingers in some of the wheals. He could not sit down, owing to his breech being in a state

a state of mortification; and it was impossible for him to lie down, from the projection of the prongs. The boy came to the general, and asked relief. He was shocked at his appearance, and asked him what he had done to suffer such punishment, and who inflicted it. He said it was his master, who lived about 2 miles from town; and that, as he could not work, he would give him nothing to eat.

There were very few slaves that did not bear the marks of the whip. If severely laid on, they retain the marks many years. There is no comparison at all, between plantation and regimental punishments, the former being so much more severe. Military only cut the skin, the others cut out the flesh.

The field negroes were treated more like brutes, than the human species. The house negroes are clothed and better fed.

Slaves in general appeared very ill fed. Was informed, each slave for 24 hours had a pint of grain, which he boiled; and sometimes half a rotten herring, when to be had. When unfit for the whites, they were bought up by the planters for the slaves.

There was no care taken of slaves superannuated P. 127. and past labour. They are turned adrift, and obliged to live by plunder. He has seen them himself. An old woman, past labour, told him she was set adrift by her master, to shift for herself. He saw her about 3 days after, lying dead in the same place.

No attention at all seemed to be paid to keeping up the stock by breeding. On the contrary, he believes many discouraged it. He saw but a very small proportion of children.

He has seen the women at work with the hoe, and their naked infants lying on the ground, close by them.

In 1780, a Dutch Guineaman was taken, and brought to Barbadoes. He thinks they had about 270 slaves. He attended most of their sales, and observed a number of the sick slaves in an adjoining yard. Those that were not very ill, were put into huts,

1791. huts, and those that were worse, were left in the yard
 to die, for nobody gave them any thing to eat or drink. Some of them lived 3 days in that state.

The free-negroes seemed very industrious. The greatest misfortune of all negroes is, that they are left in darkness. He observed a vast difference between the negroes at St. Lucia and any others, owing to the attention of the priests, who instructed them in religion and morality.

P. 128. He has seen a great many English seamen in great distress, in Barbadoes; for the captains often set them ashore to shift for themselves. He cannot say from what ships they came; but only from merchantmen. In St. Lucia, while in our hands, he saw several English seamen lying in the same state.

There was no sort of pains taken to prevent promiscuous intercourse, not even with domesticks, waiting on their mistresses.

Is very positive the impression on his mind, of the treatment of slaves, was made at the time, and on the spot; for he repeatedly told the people of Bridgetown, that he hoped to live to see the unfortunate situation of those poor wretches, taken up by some member of parliament; that, should such an event take place, he should look upon it as his duty to offer a voluntary declaration of what he knew of the matter.

He thinks a present abolition of the slave trade, would be attended with very serious consequences; but, if those unfortunate beings were not left to the tyranny of their cruel masters, but were instructed in morality, and their increase encouraged, and they were rewarded for good behaviour, he thinks that, at a future period, the slave trade would die away of itself.

Witness

Witness examined, — ROBERT FORSTER, of Heble-thwaite, Yorkshire.

Was in every British island, except Jamaica, in all 1791.
about 6 years, ending 1778. The first 4 years ap- P. 129.
prentice in a store in St. John's, Antigua; the rest
of the time a midshipman and second master, and
pilot of the king's brig, Endeavour.

He lived among the town slaves, and often went to collect debts, and visit managers in the country. When in the king's ship, he spent much time among them, having known them before.

The general impression on his mind was, that slaves were severely treated, and in a low, depressed state.

In Antigua, the common allowance was, 7 pints of corn, or horse-beans, for able negroes, with about 3 or 4 herrings weekly; occasionally a little salt, sometimes rum, but not very common. Their work is hard. The bell calls them to it at day-break, and they work till sun-set; have 2 hours at noon; but in their hours of rest, grass is expected. They are treated never as fellow-creatures, but merely as property, and are severely punished for slight offences.

They are allowed a few yards square of ground; but only Sundays to cultivate it, except a few, who had Saturday afternoon.

The plough might be advantageously used, and P. 130. though perhaps not wholly to supercede the hoe, yet might ease the negroes of many difficult parts of their manual labour. The grinding of their corn at night, by hand, was, in crop, a great hardship: they might be much relieved by some trifling mechanism applied in the sugar-mill, and in many other cases. In general, they seem to have no idea of improvements to ease their slaves. Understood it a general opinion, that if negroes were not constantly kept at hard labour, they would become unruly.

The

1791. The instrument of punishment cuts their flesh, and
 ~~~ leaves indelible marks.

No attention at all was paid to marriage. It did not appear to him, that they attended as much to the rearing of children, as we do to the rearing of P. 130. calves. He has known exceptions. A widow Sheriff-P. 131. vington was left in debt, with 5 or 6 negroes, who, by kind treatment, increased, in 15 or 20 years, to 15, or more. He knows several such instances. As to estates, on the whole of Col. Farley's plantations, they had no need of new negroes. He has heard him say, there was a considerable increase on one particularly. A Mr. Tho. Gravener's negroes also increased. He knew captain Thomason, of Seacow-bay, Tortola, who has wanted no new negroes for many years.

Little or no attention was paid to instructing slaves in religion. He believes none at all by the established clergy. Where instruction has been attempted, as it has on several Antigua estates, by Moravian missionaries, the advantage was evident in their manners and behaviour.

**P. 131.** Those were not thought the most flourishing estates, which bought the most new negroes. It was exactly the reverse.

He never knew, or heard, of a field-negro buying his freedom.

Domesticks have much less work than field-negroes; but their situation, in some respects, is perhaps harder; for, being under the hand of capricious, passionate masters and mistresses, they are often punished, not only corporally, but with numberless teasing and mortifications; nor are they so regularly fed. He never knew them allowed above one-half bit a day; and he believes some are often driven to

**P. 132.** theft or prostitution, by want. The women domesticks are expected to dress neatly, and, having no clothes from their owners, they must use indirect means to get them. They are not often whipped publickly; but their private whippings are very severe,

vere, and he has known a creole woman drop hot sealing-wax on a wench's back, after a flogging.      He, and many others, saw a young woman of fortune and character, flog a negro man very severely with her own hands. Many similar instances he could relate, if necessary; they are almost innumerable. He has been speaking chiefly of town domesticks.

Slaves have no legal protection at all against their masters, for any injury short of murder. A little before he arrived in Antigua, one Patrick, a huckster, whom he knew, murdered a woman slave, with circumstances of the most atrocious and savage barbarity. He was tried, convicted, and fined. He was universally blamed, but was dealt with as usual. Slaves have no mode of getting redress from daily injuries of whites, nor their owners; and even sometimes their owners cannot get redress for them. A P. 133. negro woman was drowned by some seamen of the Favourite sloop of war. A negro man was knocked on the head and drowned, for stealing a piece of beef, alongside a merchantman, at St. John's. These facts were well known, but no inquiry made.

He has known negroes, but not many, turned adrift by their owners, when past labour.

Negroes are liable to be taken for their master's debts, and are confined in a close, disagreeable dungeon, till sold. No regard paid, that he remembers, to selling families together. Saw a family of mulattoes and blacks sold at vendue, and sent to different islands. They discovered great sorrow at being separated.

African negroes shewed the most extravagant joy at their friends funerals, from believing the deceased gone back to their country.

He has seen many of those deplorable objects, Guinea seamen, particularly on the beach at Roseau, Dominique. When the Endeavour was at Grenada, there were 7 Guinea seamen, exceedingly emaciated and full of sores, who complained much of their

1791. ill usage in the voyage. In a few months, they ~~were~~ covered so much, as scarcely to be known for the P. 134 same men. Captains of men of war sometimes take them, to recover their wages, but generally do not keep them, for fear of infection. Such seamen in Antigua, are called wharfingers, and in Dominique, scow-bankers.

He lived at Lancaster, when slave-ships were fitted out there. From their ill treatment, and the small numbers that returned, the young men were discouraged from entering on that service, and they were obliged to take some ships to Liverpool to man them.

The lives of a prodigious number of negroes were carelessly and impolitically sacrificed in clearing the lee side of Dominique, for sugar estates. He recollects one planter there who bought 30 new negroes, and lost them all within the year.

P. 135. Negro porters, who pay their owners a weekly sum, having no fixed rates, endure great impositions and hardships. If, on being offered too little for their work, they remonstrate, they are very often beaten, and receive nothing: and should they refuse the next call, from the same person, they are liable to be summoned before a magistrate, and punished on the parade, for refusal, and he has known them so punished. Negroes that bring grass to town to sell, have often their grass taken away, without pay, and sometimes with a beating. The indignities the negroes receive in markets, from white sailors and others, are frequent, vexatious, and severe.

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Witness Examined,—Capt. JOHN SAMUEL SMITH, of the Royal Navy.

Was in the West Indies in 1772, 1777, and 1778, for above a year altogether.

Had several opportunities of observing the treatment

ment of plantation-slaves, from meeting with an old schoolfellow, a manager, who introduced him to many other managers.

First impression was that slaves were treated more like beasts than the human species. The mode of punishment generally was, a negro stretched on his belly, on the ground, a man at each hand and leg ; the punishment inflicted by a negro with a long whip, tapering from the size of one's thumb, to a small lash. At every stroke a piece of flesh was drawn out, and that with much unconcern to the director of the punishment.

Grass picking and theft, the most frequent causes of punishment. Some were punished for not getting so much grass as others, and that at a time when he thought it impossible for them to get half the quantity, having been on the spot. The grass is generally picked after their day's work. His idea is, they seldom leave work till sun-set, let the distance be what it may ; and they are obliged to pick grass all the way home.

The plantation-slaves were very generally marked P. 137. with the whip. The only instance to the contrary is what he shall speak to on a Grenada estate.

It by no means appeared to him, or to be generally understood, that slaves could get legal redress for ill usage by their masters, or other whites. A slave who paid his master for leave to work for himself, and kept a shop and slaves under him, was employed on a job, by a gentleman of property ; on being displeased with the man, he sent for him and punished him publickly, and the slave had no redress. This he has no doubt often happens. He has heard of many instances of the like.

Has heard of many cases of slaves suffering from their master's bad circumstances, and has heard it often observed, " If you want to know a proprietor's circumstances, look at his slaves."

Thinks a planter's residence a necessary check on managers, and it was generally unsterstood so. Has seen

1791. seen managers particularly attentive to their own stock and slaves, which he thinks they could not have done had the owner been there. This difference of usage must doubtless cause much jealousy to the field-slaves. Has often seen more food given to managers slaves; and it is commonly observed, that it is easy to know the manager's slaves from the owner's, from their better appearance. Has reason

P. 138. to believe managers often favour their own slaves, in labour, and other particulars, especially in grass picking, as he has often seen; and he has no doubt but the grass is generally appropriated to the manager more than the owner. Managers never employ their own slaves for this purpose. The keeping stock is generally a part of the manager's income, and he has no doubt it is fed at the proprietor's expense.

Planters never appeared careful to keep up their slaves by breeding. Has seen instances which convinced him that managers attended more to the increase of their own slaves. The managers seemed generally prosperous, and that often when the owners seemed to be going behind hand.

It never appeared to him that any attempts were made to check promiscuous intercourse, and to introduce regular domestic habits. He has often known where people from the ships visited managers, and had opportunities given by them of selecting women for their private ends: nor were the wives of negroes secure from the whites on the estates. He has known complaints made of the overseer having infringed in that particular, against the woman's will, without redress.

P. 139. Has seen many slaves neglected, who were aged and past labour. On observing to the inhabitants the state of such objects, he has been told, that building hospitals for them would be endless, as slaves would bring complaints on themselves to leave the estate.

It

It was understood a common practice, and he himself has known instances of women, in respectable stations, standing by to see their slaves punished. 1791.

Always considered negroes as keen, sensible, well-disposed people, when their habits were not vitiated by cruel usage.

Never thought it necessary to treat them so severely, having seen an instance where the reverse usage produced a good effect, and which he often mentioned to managers whom he saw acting differently. Was answered it might be practised in particular cases, but it would be impossible to get the work done, were it general. The manager, in that one instance, told him that more work was done than on estates where the treatment was otherwise. HeP. 140. does not remember asking if the pairing of the slaves was attended to on that estate; but he saw religion the first object of the manager, which he thought had a very good effect.

Believes slaves, if used ill, dare not complain to an attorney except in atrocious cases. Firmly believes, the opinion of the slaves is, that the attorney and manager are one and the same, with respect to understanding each other.

Never saw balls or dances among field-slaves; but often among house-slaves.

On the whole, it by no means appeared to him, that the state of slaves could bear any comparison with that of peasants here. He always considered them as treated and spoken of as cattle.

Has often been employed to board Guineamen to impies men; and though he supposes he may have boarded near 20 vessels, at times, he never could get more than two men, who turned out such inhuman fellows, that they were forced to dismiss them, though good seamen. But the chief reason of his not getting men was, the fear of infection, having seen many of them ulcerated very much, and otherwise disordered; and though often solicited by them, and told, that if he did not receive them, they would be sent ashore and

**1790.** and left behind. To be applied to, by seamen, in any other trade, to be taken out of their own ships into His Majesty's, is so uncommon as seldom or never to happen.

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Witness examined—Mr. WILLIAM DUNCAN.

**P. 141.** Was in Antigua from Jan. 1785 to July 1789, as clerk in a store six or eight months; as overseer for about two years and a half; the rest of the time, kept store for himself.

First impression was, that slaves looked very poorly and ill treated.

The usual allowance of plantation-slaves is a gallon of Indian corn or horse beans weekly, with sometimes two herrings; at other times, 24 lb. of yams and a little salt.

The negroes, on the estate he was on, which were 162, had only six or seven acres among them, of but indifferent land. They had Sunday to work it, and sometimes Saturday afternoon, out of crop.

Negroes appear in the best condition rather towards the end of crop. At other times, look ill fed. He should suppose they are driven by hunger to theft. They usually steal provisions, at the risk of being cut and beat by the watchmen.

**P. 142.** Thinks about fourteen pence sterling the utmost sum which an industrious field-negro can earn for himself in a week. He never knew such have any considerable property, nor heard of a field-slave buying his freedom.

Very seldom knew entertainments given by the negroes. Thinks about six dollars might be the utmost cost of such as he has seen.

Thinks provisions allowed by masters, and that which slaves raise in their own grounds, are, in general, insufficient to support them and their families properly

properly and comfortably. He has often heard them complain for want of food. 1791.

He thought the plantation-slaves cruelly treated, and not sufficiently attended to.

The pregnant women, on the estate where he lived, P. 143: did little work after they were four months gone with child; came out at eight o'clock and went home by four; if wet came not out at all. At times the women work a little, and their children are left with old women, in the field. They are allowed to suckle them. On a neighbouring estate, the usage of pregnant women was the same: cannot say as to others.

He looks on the work generally required of field-slaves as laborious, according to their strength to perform it.

Sometimes slaves have 39 lashes, sometimes they are confined with chains and collars; and sometimes with iron boots on their ankles. Their whippings are severe, sometimes wantonly inflicted, and, at other times, disproportionate to the offences. Many negroes bear about them the marks of the whip. He has seen a negro so cut, that he could not lie on his back or sit down.

He knew of no protection which slaves had against ill usage from their owners, or managers, or overseers. The owner was liable to be punished for murdering his slave. He knew a white man, in different circumstances, who was fined 100l. currency, and imprisoned 12 months, for murdering his negro boy. P. 144.

Relates an instance of a slave unjustly beaten by an intoxicated manager. Though laid up in consequence of it some months, he got no redress.

He has known the same man doctor and attorney, and manager and attorney.

The opinion was, that a creole negro, by the time he was fit to work, cost more than one from Africa.

The treatment on the estate he lived on was better than common. The effect was that they increased. Also the slaves on Sir G. Thomas's Belfast estate, and Carlile's,

1791. Carlisle's, and several others he cannot name, increased, or kept up their numbers, without addition P. 145. by purchase.

On a neighbouring estate, the treatment was worse than usual, and the effect was, the slaves decreased.

He thinks the sexes nearly equal, but he believes, most males.

The capacities and dispositions of negroes are much like those of the whites.

They received religious instruction chiefly from Methodist preachers. The island clergy were not so attentive as the Methodists. The negroes so instructed were improved in their morals and behaviour. Such paid more attention to marriage. He has often known negroes desire to have their children baptized. The clergy usually took a dollar from them for baptism.

P. 146. He has known families sent to different islands, from sales by execution, or otherwise.

He has seen some free negroes very well behaved, and very industrious. They are usually tradesmen and hucksters. He never knew them work in the field. They would think it a disgrace to work with a slave. They can earn more by those employments than by field-work.

He has often heard the slaves say, they were kidnapped; particularly a woman who waited on him, said that when going on an errand, she was carried off in a bag and sold.

He sees no reason why the plough might not be used, especially to loosen stiff land, which would certainly save much labour.

Witness examined—Captain THOMAS LLOYD,

Of the Royal Navy.

Was in the West Indies in 1779. Commanded 1791.  
the Glasgow, and was burnt out of her in Montego  
bay, Jamaica. P. 147.

His first impression was, that the slaves were very generally considered as black cattle, and very often treated like post-horses.

Relates instance of a man and woman slave executed at St. Ann's bay, in sight of his ship's company. The former for running away, the latter for secreting him.

At Mrs. Winne's, of Mammee bay, saw a woman slave with one hand only, and asked Mrs. W. how she lost it. She said it had been cut off. She had a female slave to whom she trusted her linen and other valuable effects, from suspecting her indented white servant had abused that confidence. She directed P. 148. her slave never to issue out linen, without her orders. The white woman wanted a pair of sheets, and attempted forcibly to take them. A scuffle ensued, and six weeks after the supposed offence, the white woman swore the slave had struck her, and she had her right hand cut off, Mrs. W. having in vain endeavoured to suspend the amputation. She spoke of this as an inhuman act, and a great injury to her property.

He was told by a person of veracity, whom he wishes not to name, that it was the practice of a certain planter, whose name he does not now recollect, to frame pretences for the execution of his worn out slaves, in order to get the island allowance: and it was supposed he had dealt largely in that way.

Captain Cornwallis told him, while he was there, that, at a dinner with some of the principal planters, the conversation turning on the profit and loss of

1791. sugar estates, one of them said, that in crop he worked his negroes 20 hours out of the 24. Another said, many of them must have died. He granted that, but, on the whole, it answered.

He has seen, about the streets and roads, many old, miserable objects, and was told many of them had their freedom given them, when no longer able to work. The most wretched object he ever saw was at Port Royal.

He had reason to believe, that negroes might be induced to work properly, without severity. A Mr. Greenland had but a few, who looked well and happy. Captain L. asked him the reason. He said, he never punished them, and he did not find but he was as well off as others who pursued a different conduct.

P. 149. He has heard sensible people ascribe the decrease of slaves, on several estates, to the severity of their treatment.

Many instances of the ill treatment of the slaves, have been told him by his brother officers, upon the station; but why they keep back their evidence he cannot tell. He has heard of military combinations to obtain justice, and to resist oppression; but this is the first instance he ever heard of associations for the suppression of truths.

Witness examined—Lieutenant BAKER DAVISON,

Of the late 79th Regiment.

P. 150. Was in Jamaica, from the middle of 1771 to the end of 1783, except a few months on the Spanish main. (Practised surgery in Jamaica, many years, before the French war, p. 154.)

Had many opportunities of seeing the treatment both of field and town slaves. Was quartered in many parts of the island; resided some time at a planter's

planter's house, given him and his family for a 1791. barrack.

The first general impression on his mind was that P. 151. the slaves were very cruelly treated, by being most unmercifully flogged by their owner's order. Such punishments never were restricted to 39 lashes. Understands there was such a law, but never knew it abided by, where punishment was really meant.

Sometimes owners in town would have them flogged at home, or send them to gaol, to be punished, or have them tied up to a crane on the wharfs. He has very often seen those punishments inflicted, at all times of the day. In houses and on the wharfs slaves are always punished by order of the owners, and often in gaol.

They appeared much more severe than regimental punishments. He remembers a new negro girl flogged by her mistress's order, and who died of a mortification from the wounds two days after.

In towns the slaves are generally flogged with a P. 152. cow-skin, and on estates with a long whip.

On estates they are fastened to four stakes driven into the ground, and whipped. He has often seen regular punishments in the field, for neglect of work, and other offences committed on the spot.

He has often seen owners send their slaves to be whipped in gaol; and has very often seen them brought home by persons belonging to the gaol. The precise number of stripes to be given in gaol was not ordered. The owners generally told them to flog them well, according to the crime.

He knew many cruelties; but none followed by death, except that mentioned. The clergyman's wife at Port Royal, was remarkably cruel. She used to drop hot sealing-wax on her negroes, after flogging them. He was sent for, as surgeon, to one of them, whose breast was terribly burnt with sealing-wax. A woman next door to him was often flogging her negroes so cruelly, that he has frequently gone in and insisted on her desisting; and, at last, he com-

1791. plained of her to a magistrate, who told him he had nothing to do with it.
- P. 153. He is very sure the slave's treatment depends wholly on the owner's disposition; as some were very cruel, and others not so.

He has very often remonstrated to owners and managers on severity, especially to the clergyman's wife, and the clergyman himself, who said they would not do without severity, and even being half starved, which he often knew was the case at his own house. He has often talked to them on their slaves being ill from severity and hunger. He particularly remonstrated to the woman mentioned (whose negro died) when he has seen the negro at work, kneeling, on her bare knees, on the pebbles, a punishment very common in houses there.

He believes the slaves generally understood they had a right to legal redress, for severity, as he has often had complaints, when quartered up the country, from different estates. He never knew such redress obtained, from negroes themselves complaining. When ill used by others, the owners take care to get redress.

- P. 154. He saw a slave both of whose nostrils had been slit, by her mistress's order, from jealousy. No attempt was made to punish this woman, as she was of some consequence, being the wife of the engineer of the island.

It was very common for women, in respectable situations, to stand by, at the punishment of their slaves.

He thinks pregnant women were not, in general, properly attended to, having been sent for to several estates, where the mother scarcely had any cloaths to cover her, nor any baby-cloaths, and was in want of every kind of proper nourishment.

He has seen several pregnant women flogged on estates, and a hole made in the ground to receive their belly. He was once sent for to a woman who had

had miscarried from severe flogging, when both child 1791.  
and herself died.

The jaw-fall was fatal to negro infants, in many cases which fell under his notice, owing, he believes, to want of proper necessaries, bad houses, and various other causes. It is impossible to account entirely for it. He is sure it was not equally fatal to white children; as in the different regiments he was in, they had a great many children born, but he never P. 155. knew one of them die with it.

Thinks, in general, the slaves were very badly fed.

It appeared to him, that when masters were in debt, the slave's food was reduced; as the slaves of several very poor planters near him, used, in the night, to rob him of every kind of provisions. There were several estates where he knew the slaves were better fed, and who never troubled them.

He is sure the slaves were not universally allowed Saturday afternoon, to work their grounds, as he never knew it; and, had it been common, he must have known it.

He has known the slaves, on the estate where he lived, several times obliged to work, even on Sundays, for their master. His house was very near the works.

He has often known them work all night at the boiling-house and mill.

The taylor, who worked for him the whole time he was in Jamaica, bought his own freedom; and P. 156. when he left the island, had some slaves of his own. He never knew a field-slave buy his freedom.

Has known slaves, (generally Africans) destroy themselves, particularly one at Port Royal, who having been punished over-night, was found hanging in his hut in the morning: He was an African who had not been long bought. He never knew a creole kill himself.

Is sure old negroes, past labour, were not, in general, sufficiently attended to. He knew two old men,

**1791.** men, belonging to a woman in Port Royal, who subsisted by begging.

The negroes wives were not secure from the whites; for he has known different book-keepers, just come to the estate, take their wives from them. Believes this was very often a cause of discontent to the slaves. (If there be a law-against this, he never knew it enforced. It is common for whites on estates to chuse negro women for themselves or friends. p. 181.)

Both house and field slaves were generally marked with the whip.

A great many instances have fallen within his notice, which proved severity unnecessary. He had always 5 or 6 slaves, whom he never found it necessary to punish, as he used them well. A Mr. Malcolm, who had a large estate, would not allow a negro to be punished, without his knowledge. In an insurrection, Mr. D. expressed his surprise, that he would leave his wife and family on the estate, when

**P. 157.** he was 8 or 10 miles off. Mr. M. said, he was sure his negroes would behave as well in his absence, as in his presence. Mr. D. has been often at his house, and has known him most days go among his negroes, and hear their complaints. He told him that he had not bought a new negro for 10 or 12 years. That they never ran away, and that his estate and negroes had considerably increased in that time. Has often heard him say, he had as much work done as others, and that his negroes always worked willingly. Is sure he encouraged their pairing, as he gave them every necessary, and kept their houses in good repair. He knew an estate where the negroes were all creoles. Is sure they were treated better than common.

Free negroes were generally tradesmen, and very industrious.

Saw a mother and her daughter separated at a sale  
**P. 179.** by vendue. A negro woman had been sold by her mistress to a Jew, to be sent off the island; but Mr. D. bought

D. bought her from the Jew. She had 2 children, 1791. whom her mistress kept from her, and whom she often begged him to buy, which he could not conveniently do. He bought a new negro, who found his brother, and brought him to the fort to Mr. D. Mr. Chambers, owner of the brother, begged Mr. D. to part with his, as the brother was a very valuable boiler. This Mr. D. reluctantly complied with, for his was equally valuable.

The Maroon negroes in Jamaica, increased most P. 180. certainly. He has often been in all their towns, and always saw great numbers of children. Their numbers were considerably more when he left, than when he went to, the island. He is sure they did not incorporate run-aways among them, as they had a reward and mile-money, for bringing them to the gaols.

Is sure whites, if temperate, could, without material injury, do any kind of out-of-door work. It is well known, that the ship-wrights and other tradesmen, in the king's-yard, Port-Royal, often work all day long, and he never knew them unhealthier than people in general. White artificers certainly do work at their trades, in the West Indies, without materially hurting their health.

He believes thumb-screws are very often used in the West Indies, having seen several negro girls at work with the needle, in presence of their mistresses, with a thumb-screw on their left thumb, and he has seen the blood gush out from the end of them.

Domesticks certainly are particularly subject to their owner's caprice. He has often known their mistress send them to be punished, without telling them for what. He has been frequently sent for, to the clergyman's slaves before-mentioned, after they have been severely flogged, and otherwise ill treated, so that he conceived their lives in great danger: particularly to one woman who had been P. 181. tied up all night, by her hands, and abused with cayenne pepper, in a way too horrid and indecent to mention

1791. mention. He lived next door to a washer-woman, at Port Royal, who was almost continually flogging her negroes. He has often gone in and remonstrated against her cruelty, where he has seen the negro women chained to the washing tubs, almost naked, with their thighs and backs in a gore of blood, from flogging. He could mention various other capricious punishments, if necessary.

He is sure means are used, in Guineamen, to suppress the slaves diseases (which afterwards break out still more violently, or bring on other disorders) especially fluxes, as he made it his business to ask the surgeons, who candidly told him their mode of treatment on board. He made this inquiry, on his wife's father having bought a good number of slaves out of a Guineaman, several of whom broke out in violent fluxes.

He has known new negroes put into the field 2 or 3 days after being bought. They sometimes remain on board in the harbour, 2 or 3 weeks before sale.

P. 182. Has seen a great many ulcerated sailors lying about, in most parts of the island, especially at Kingston. They chiefly belonged to Guineamen, for he particularly asked them.

Has often heard planters say, such an overseer had improved the estate, by large crops: but never heard any such thing mentioned, in connection, as his care of the negroes, or keeping them up by breeding.

He has often gone on the estates of absentees, with attorneys, and came away with them, and saw very little attention paid, except asking the overseer when the sugars would be ready for market. He never heard any inquiries made into the negroes state and treatment.

Has frequently heard owners of slaves say, that a creole, when fit to work, costs more than a new negro.

The attorney and overseer are not always distinct persons. He has known several that were both attorney

torney and overseer. He knew several in Spanish 1791. Town, from 20 to 40 miles off the estates they were attornies for. Attornies are often directly interested in increasing the crops, as he always understood they P. 183. have a per centage on them.

Overseers very often have slaves of their own : he has known them have jobbing gangs. Has known the absent master's house-slaves sent into the field, and the overseer's put in their room.

Many more domestics are kept in West India families than in similar English ones. Has known from 12 to 20 in a house, where half as many would do very well.

Domestics certainly increase, from being better fed and treated, and less worked.

Female slaves are very commonly let out, by their owners, for prostitution.

Slaves sell vegetables at market, on their owner's account ; as several mountain estates chiefly depend on selling vegetables.

On many estates he is sure proper medical care was not taken of the negroes ; as the surgeon often lives far from the estates, and visits them, when he thinks proper.

He brought a Guinea woman to England, who P. 184. wished much to be sent to her own country. It is common for sick negroes to say, with much pleasure, they are going to die, and are going home from this Buccra country.

Has often known slaves 12 months in gaol, from their master's debts.

Believes owners are very commonly involved with Guinea merchants ; for they often stay on the estates, all the week, except Sundays, with their gates always locked. Buyers of new negroes, if planters, are credited, from one crop to another ; if not planters, from 6 to 12 months.

He has very often seen refuse-negroes, sold at vendue, in a wretched situation, and very cheap. Several make a trade of it.

Numb. 4.

M

There

1791. There was a captain to every Maroon town, and  
one a superintendant over the whole, to keep up order.  
P. 185. He thinks runaways could not be harboured, in the  
Maroon towns, without coming to the captain's  
knowledge, who always lives very near the towns.  
He is appointed, by the governor, as guardian of the  
treaty with the Maroons. He is always a white man.
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Witness examined—DREWRY OTLEV, Esq.  
His Majesty's Chief Justice on the Island of  
St. Vincent.

P. 158. Resided in the W. Indies since 1776, chiefly in St. Vincent. Has visited Antigua, Tobago, St. Kitts, Grenada, and St. Lucia: was in England about ten months of the time.

Is of the council of St. Vincent's, appointed in 1784, and chief justice in 1787.

Managed his own estates there till made chief justice; when, often absent on public business, he employed a manager, whose conduct he constantly superintended.

As to the laws respecting slaves; the old slave acts, which were the general laws throughout the islands and which in many still continue unrepealed, have appeared to him in many cases unjust and inhuman, as to the personal security of slaves; which appears only to be provided for, in cases of murders, dismemberment, and mutilation. And as the evidence of slaves is never admitted against whites, the difficulty of legally establishing facts is so great, that white men are in a manner put beyond the reach of the law: however, supposing the proof full, the murder of a slave in some islands is only punishable by a larger fine, and dismemberment and mutilation by a smaller. Some of the acts are silent on the murder of a slave, and it has been supposed, in those islands, that it was punishable by the common law of England:

land: however, on considering the latter part of the 1791. second clause in the St. Vincent slave act, which is also introduced in some of the slave acts of the other islands, is of opinion, that by inference from that clause, the murder of a slave is not punishable by common law as a capital offence.

There is no law for securing the slave's property, against his master, nor against strangers, unless the master brings an action.

There are laws in most of the islands obliging masters to provide food and clothing for their slaves; but does not think them in general efficient, from the difficulty of bringing proof of the breach of the law.

Some clauses in the St. Vincent's slave act appear to be oppressive and impolitic; particularly that which obliges the whites, under a penalty, to search once a fortnight, the negroe houses on the estate, for runaways or stolen goods; that which prevents slaves from hiring themselves of their masters to work on their own account; those which lay certain restriction on free negroes, and deprive them in some cases of trial by jury; the clause which throws obstacles in the way of slaves buying their freedom; and some others which he does not just now recollect.

In his answers, he confines himself to St. Vincent's where named; where no island is named, his observations extend to all where the old slave acts are yet in force.

The omissions in the old laws are so numerous that P. 160. it is difficult to ascertain them; he will therefore speak to such alterations and provisions as appear necessary for the protection of slaves.

He would recommend the passing a slave act in every island, repealing those now in force, and establishing regulations upon the principle of the late Grenada act, to obviate the difficulty of bringing evidence against whites: councils of protection or guardians, should be named to see that the provisions made for the benefit of slaves are enforced: they should be empowered to inspect provision grounds,

**1791.** sick houses, clothing, negro-houses, and the general condition of slaves; and upon just grounds of suspicion, to have power to examine whites, or other free persons, on oath, and to prosecute offenders, where necessary.

Thinks, if the guardians do their duty, and act with impartiality, that the substitute for the evidence of slaves, (provided by the Grenada act) affords as great a degree of protection and security as persons in a state of slavery can enjoy.

Can devise no means, likely to be adopted, for admitting the evidence of slaves, in their present state of ignorance.

**P. 161.** The laws lately passed in Jamaica, Grenada, and Dominica, (as contained in the Privy Council report) have supplied most of the omissions now noticed; but the Grenada law seems best calculated to have full effect.

The punishments to be inflicted by the St. Vincent's slave act, must be by order of justices of the peace: recollects no provisions there, which limit the degree, or ascertain the nature, of the punishment which a master or manager may inflict.

The general modes of punishment he has observed on West India estates, were, whipping, the stocks, chains, iron collars; the latter not frequent, nor long worn, because deemed hurtful to the slaves health.

As to whipping in a cruel manner and disproportionate to the offence, overseers striking slaves wantonly, subtracting from his allowance, taking away the provisions he has raised, or other arbitrary and cruel treatment independent of punishment for

**P. 162.** offences, much depends on the temper and disposition of masters or managers. On all the estates he has known, where the master or manager resided, overseers were forbidden to strike any slave, and were liable to be turned off if they did. Sometimes they do it, but does not think it common.

The

The treatment of slaves, so far as he has observed, 1791.  
is in general humane.

Instances of cruelty do and will occur, but does not think them common. Certainly thinks them exceptions to general usage.

As to instances of notorious cruelty in the islands going unpunished, never knew but one case where a man was punished by law in St. Vincent's for cruelty to a slave, and that was very lately. Has heard of other cases of cruelty notorious, which have gone unpunished.

In St. Vincent's, industrious field slaves are generally possessed of some property. So far as he can guess, an industrious but ordinary field slave may acquire to the amount of 6l. or 8l. sterling per ann. Of 200 slaves on an estate, not more than one-third P. 163. can be reckoned field slaves; some of whom will be young and indifferent to property, others lazy. He should suppose 12 to 18 might acquire to the amount mentioned. Has heard of field slaves acquiring to a greater amount, but in general they are careful to conceal their property from their masters. They acquire it by raising hogs, goats, poultry, and by the culture of their grounds, of which they have in general more than they can cultivate, and as good land for the purpose as any on the estate. Out of crop they have half of Saturday, or one day in a fortnight. Thinks the latter better for the slave, as he can go fresh to his work, and has more time to complete any particular job.

In St. Vincent's slaves are never married according to the rites of the Church, but they are very often attached to one woman.

Knows of no law to prevent a white from de-P. 164. bauching the wife of a slave: but does not recollect any case of the kind.

As the females, who are not married, do not seem to prize chastity much, he should suppose the men licentious with regard to women.

Slaves,

1791. Slaves, when past the time of youth, often live faithfully as man and wife.

The men are in general so addicted to the use of spirituous liquors, that they will get drunk as oft as they can.

Has heard young females study to procure abortions, but never knew a case: they are so fond of dancing, that he does not think pregnancy, unless far advanced, would prevent their going a great way for it. Dances are common, but slaves from distant estates are forbidden.

The slaves are in general very harmless and peaceable. Never knew a case, even where they have been said to be ill treated, of their attempting to injure their master's property from resentment; tho' were they so inclined, they have many opportunities,

P. 165. particularly in crop time. They discover a benevolent disposition, and a general good will. On every distressful emergency, such as fire, which often happens, he has always observed negroes from the neighbouring plantations, uncalled, even in the night, ready and active to their utmost exertion in relieving the misfortune of the moment. Recollects an instance which occurred in 1785: A fire suddenly broke out among his canes, at a place the most distant from where his own slaves were working. Those of Sir William Young, who were at work near the spot, voluntarily run to the place, and with much trouble and some risque extinguished the flames, which might otherwise have destroyed 50 or 60 hogsheads of sugar; nor did they ask any reward; but of course some recompence was sent them.

Those seasoned to the islands appear to be of a cheerful temper; and are so, when well used; which may be known by their returning merry and singing, from their work.

Thinks, on estates well handed with seasoned negroes, and which have a regular succession of children to supply those who fall off by age, the numbers might be kept up, and probably increase without importation,

importation. In many instances, estates, humanely 1791. managed, and with a suitable proportion of the sexes, ~~women~~ actually have, and do increase their numbers without importation. (p. 167.)

Is acquainted with the Caribs of St. Vincent's. P. 166. They are mostly of the negro race, said to be descended from such as escaped from a slave ship, wrecked upon the coast.

Believes they do not incorporate runaways, who would be easily distinguished from the Caribs, who have a peculiar flattening in the forehead, produced in infancy; they have a reward too for bringing in runaways; and there is besides a strong antipathy between them and the slaves (p. 169). Their number is said to be 3000, so that they must certainly have increased, and believes they are still on the increase: they are fond of spirituous liquors (p. 169).

As slaves can never live so much at their ease as the Caribs do, and must be more exposed while at work, they will be subject to diseases, to which the Caribs and free negroes are not; they will therefore probably not increase so much, though they may increase.

W. India estates are in general deeply mortgaged: P. 167. in proportion to the weight of debt on them, they will in many instances be worked with greater exertion of labour, and under disadvantages of credit prejudicial to the supplies for comfort, or even subsistence of the slaves, in many cases.

He should necessarily conclude, that where slaves are not supplied equally with the necessaries and comforts of life, they will of course be proportionally defective in increase.

The proprietors of estates pressed by their creditors would, he fears, be induced to work their gangs beyond their strength, were they cut off from fresh supplies of slaves, and thus a sudden and total abolition eventually prove oppressive to many slaves in the West Indies.

Believes,

**1791.** Believes, the question of the slave-trade depending in the British Parliament, may have directed the attention of the colonial legislatures, to the reform of the laws in favour of slaves; and while the question **P. 168.** continues pending, believes they will be disposed to adopt any practicable regulations which may be recommended to them; but does not think they would attend to such recommendation with the same good temper and satisfaction were the question decided, and the slave-trade stopt.

Does not think any effectual reform of the slave laws could be made without the co-operation of the colonies, as by the constitution of their governments, their legislative bodies must pass the laws, and the magistrates and others in the islands enforce them.

His letter to Sir William Young, contained in the Privy Council Report, was written in haste, and merely for Sir William's private information.

As the laws now stand in many of the islands, domestick slaves must be peculiarly subject to their masters caprice; and their situation can less be effected by regulations of law, than even that of field slaves, because the conduct of masters to domesticks

**P. 169.** is not so open to the observation of the world.

As to supposing private punishments to be restricted to a certain number of lashes, and masters and overseers should exceed the limitation, or splitting one crime into many, give the limited number for each; can devise no mode of bringing such master or other to justice, while the evidence of a slave continues inadmissible.

Believes there are 400 or 500 whites in all, exclusive of the military, in St. Vincent's; perhaps 150 more in the small islands now connected with it; and imagines the slaves on those islands, which are not many, are included in the number of St. Vincent's slaves.

Never knew a free negro hire himself to field labour, to hire as mechanicks is common.

The

The stock of slaves on his estate when he first went 1790. out have constantly increased ; but the new negroes — he has bought since 1784, have, in spite of all possible P. 170. attention to them, decreased at least one in eight. Mr. Robley told him, that on his estate Sandy Point, in Tobago, there has been a constant considerable increase by births, though the situation does not seem healthy. In St. Vincent's, upon Sir William Young's estate, Calliagua, there has been for some years past a constant increase by births ; the same on Mr. Haffey's estate, and he believes also upon Mr. Winn's ; and likewise upon Mr. Collins's and a Mr. Morgan's estates.

If proper attention was paid to the religious instruction of slaves, he is convinced it would be of the greatest advantage to the planters. Within these three or four years, some Methodist missionaries, have had access to many estates in St. Vincent's, for that purpose. Has heard that in Antigua the slaves have been greatly improved in their morals by the instructions of the Moravians ; insomuch, that the actual value of such slaves, considered as objects of commerce, has been raised. An increase of population from the births, would be an undoubted consequence of the moral improvement of slaves (p. 174.)

Does not think, that even on those estates where he has known the stock kept up and increased by births, such attention has been paid to the subject as he would judge proper (p. 174.)

As to whites escaping punishment in atrocious cases, from negro evidence being invalid, recollects, that in October 1789, a slave in Tobago was said, and universally believed, to have been stabbed by a white (thinks the manager of the estate) in the pre-P. 171. fence of many other slaves. The man died on the spot, and the white was tried, but, for want of such evidence as West Indian courts of law require, was acquitted. Another case occurred in St. Vincent's ; a white, was strongly suspected of having shot his  
Numb. 4. N brother-

1791. brother-in-law, the fact was said by two or three slaves to have been done in their presence; and, the coroner's inquest (he thinks) confirmed this suspicion, by a verdict of wilful murder, against this white. At a court where he (Mr. Ottley) presided, the cause was tried, and although there scarcely remained a doubt with the jury of the man's guilt, he was nevertheless acquitted, for want of sufficient evidence.

Thinks, that slaves in general are better treated, and more satisfied with their condition, where the owner resides.

Where ground provisions are scarce, and the owner's embarrassments prevent his getting supplies of imported provisions, his negroes must certainly suffer. In 1779, he has heard, many persons suffered in Antigua from this circumstance.

P. 172. Has always heard that in St. Kitt's the chief dependence is on imported provisions, and it must be often so in Antigua, from the droughts to which they are subject.

Where planters, as has often happened, take in more cane land than they can properly cultivate, the labour of the negroes will be increased, and the land will not be productive.

Never knew a field slave buy his freedom. Never heard of act of suicide among creoles.

As to insurrections, whether most to be apprehended from African or Creole slaves, there never was an insurrection in St. Vincent's; but those which happened in Tobago, he has heard, originated with the Africans.

The circumstance of being forcibly torn from their families and friends, will frequently have the effect to shorten the lives of imported slaves; particularly the aged: those who destroy themselves are always found to be adults.

P. 173. The climate of St. Vincent's, when first settled, being covered with wood, was very fatal to Europeans; but now it seems as healthy as any other of

of the islands; and it has been remarked, that no greater mortality has occurred among the troops, for these five or six years past, than is common in England. The Europeans who are resident, from exposure during the hours of labour, are frequently subject to diseases.

By the court act, slaves may be seized for the owner's debt, but not till his goods, chattels, and produce are found insufficient. Slaves by the laws of St. Vincent's are in general considered as of the nature of real estate, and so descend to the heir, and widows are dowable from them; but where the personal estate is insufficient, executors may inventory slaves, and apply them to the discharge of the testator's debts. But to prevent estates being deprived of slaves, there is a particular law in St. Vincent's, allowing the executors to advance money at 6 per cent. interest, taking security on the slaves.

In case of actual seizure, the marshal is equally responsible for slaves, as for other property.

As to separation of families, by such sales, the P. 174. law has provided, that a woman and her infant child shall always be sold together. Does not recollect any other provision.

Is of opinion, that the reforms in the treatment of slaves hinted in the preceding part of his evidence, would be for the mutual advantage of owner and slave.

With respect to the interests of the owner and managers being sometimes at variance, it is in general the manager's interest to make large crops, to support his character as a planter; and persons often judging from effects, he may feel himself under a kind of necessity of working the slaves harder than he wishes, to keep up to the produce of former years.

Never lost more than two or three children on his estates by the tetanus, but many by worms between three and six years, which seems the most fatal disorder to children in the West Indies, white as well as negro.

**1791.** Want of food and other ill treatment he should suppose to be one great cause of slaves running away :  
**P. 175.** indeed he has heard of a case, where about 20 negroes, who had been long absent, on the death of a master esteemed very severe, voluntarily returned to the estate : however, has known negroes run away without any provocation.

Upon asking his African negroes how they became slaves, some who were imported young, said, they were kidnapped ; others, that they had been sold for crimes, or prisoners of war.

Witness examined—Reverend Mr. STUART.

**P. 175.** Has been at Guadaloupe, Dominique, St. Croix, St. Eustatius, St. Kitts, (at the last about a year) and Nevis. Went to the West Indies about the beginning of 1778, and left them in 1779 for America,  
**P. 177.** which he left at Christmas 1782. Has had a twenty years acquaintance with the condition of slaves in the different states of N. America.

He is warranted in declaring that the negroes are an oppressed and much injured race, in no better estimation than labouring cattle ; and every description of their treatment he has met with, falls short of their real state. He read Mr. Ramsay's, in manuscript, at St. Kitts, and comparing it on the spot with the treatment of the slaves, thought it too favourable.

Though there are as humane people in the West Indies as elsewhere, they are from the nature of slavery led into cruel measures. The punishments there often seemed too severe. Has seen many negroes working in chains both in America and West Indies. Has often known runaways put in a dungeon at night, and once saw about fourteen, some of whom were in chains, put into a dungeon, apparently

ly much too small for them. Next morning he saw 1791.  
one of them taken out dead.

Slaves in America seem more hearty and robust P. 177.  
than those in the West Indies, owing, he supposes,  
to their being better fed. Their allowance was a  
quart of Indian corn, pease, or rice, each day, and  
a little salt.

It was generally believed the Carolina slaves increased without importation.

He was told at St. Croix, that the slaves, instructed by the Moravians, were better behaved than the others.

The blacks are not inferior to the whites in abilities or disposition. They have as much generosity, fidelity, gratitude, understanding, and ingenuity; capable of receiving religious instruction, and improvement of every kind. Has found his black servants in nothing inferior to his white ones, and is sure that education and opportunity alone make a difference between the two descriptions.

Nothing had been done to alleviate the situation of the negroes, in general, in the period of Mr. Stuarts's residence in America and the W. Indies.

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Witness examined—Captain SCOTT.

Captain Alexander Scott, of the Royal navy, was P. 177.  
on the coast of Africa from Senegal to Cape Coast, P. 178.  
in the Merlin, 1769, during the rainy season. Out  
of 90 men they buried there 8, of whom only 4 died  
of the disorders of the country. The surfs there are  
not an utter impediment to landing and shipping  
goods. He has himself landed from his own boat  
at Dixcove, Commenda, and Cape Coast, and the  
boats without him, also at Succonda. He has been  
in the W. Indies longer than on the Coast of Africa,  
and has of course seen greater surfs there than on the  
coast.

From

**1791.** From a transaction which happened the second day after his arrival in the West Indies, he thought the negroes very cruelly used. He saw a white man pursue a negro into the water, bring him out, and take him to the wharf, where he had him hung up to a crane by his hands, which were tied together, and weights tied to his feet. When thus hoisted up, but so as still to touch the ground, another negro was ordered to whip him with a prickly bush. He walked away from the disagreeable sight. The next day he saw the same negro lying on the beach, and with the assistance of another taking the prickles out of his breech, seemingly swelled and bloody. The negro assigned as a reason for the whipping, that the wharfinger thought he had staid too long on an errand.

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Witness examined—Rev. Mr. DAVIES.

**P. 185.** Resided at Barbadoes fourteen years; the three last, learning the management of a sugar estate; left it twenty-one years ago.

It was not understood that slaves had a right to legal redress when ill used by masters.

**P. 186.** As to field-slaves being well, or sparingly fed, it is difficult to judge from appearance only; before crop many seemed very emaciated, in crop they looked well. Has seen their allowance dealt out; a grown negroe had nine pints of corn and about one pound of salt-fish per week: some principal slaves had as far as twelve pints; but the grain of the West Indies is much lighter than wheat.

Never knew field-slaves acquire considerable property; they had a few house-necessaries, and were allowed to keep a pig, or a goat, and poultry.

As to its being a serious object with planters, to keep up the stock of slaves by breeding; it was so much otherwise, as to be generally thought a necessary

fary part of plantation expense to buy a lot of new 1791. slaves every six or seven years. Thinks the cause why the number of slaves are not kept up by births is, that females are over worked, in turning dung, carrying it out in baskets of 60 to 70 pound weight on their heads, and that for about eight hours a day, in the season. On their return home, they have to grind their corn by the strength of their arms, rubbing it between two stones: they must rise with the earliest dawn to prepare their food, that they may be in the field in time to escape punishment. Their circumstances (particularly the grinding corn) tended to discourage marriage, the woman's life becoming harder then, from being thus a slave to her husband (p. 187).

Pregnant women, and such as had children, are allowed to come into the field a little later than the rest.

With very good usage, if the females are to the males as three to four, the stock may be kept up by births; as it was on Kendal plantation belonging to Joshua Steele, esq. though the proportion was as two to three (p. 188).

Though people in general seemed to consider slaves as their most valuable property; yet their attention to them (from a sense of interest) appeared insufficient, because a great number of recruits was necessary.

To produce large quantities of sugar at a small expense, was the chief criterion of a manager's merit; though owners sometimes discharged their managers for too much severity.

Is of opinion they cultivated too much cane land, P. 187. and too little provisions, as many were obliged to buy American corn: thinks having less cane land would produce better treatment to the slaves, and be ultimately for the master's benefit.

The dependance on imported slaves certainly contributed to embarrass planters.

As to the practicability of keeping up the stock of slaves by births, provided it had been an object of serious attention to the planters; cannot say he attended to

1791. to it when on the island, but it does appear to him now (from the facts which then fell under his notice p. 188.) that by general good usage of the slaves, and a milder treatment of females in particular, by the use of cattle and instruments of husbandry, especially the plough, their numbers might be kept up, perhaps increase. Knew a few estates which kept up their numbers without importation.

P. 188. Is of opinion slaves were in general too sparingly fed, whether the master was embarrassed or not.

Understood from common report, that there were few estates that were not more or less embarrassed, from debt to the European merchant, or from jointures, or fortunes to brothers and sisters.

On asking African negroes how they became slaves, was answered they had been kidnapped.

Thinks their feelings much the same as Europeans. When removed from their habitations and spots of ground, they have been known to pine away.

As to the practice of slaves constantly working under a driver, does not recollect a single exception.

P. 189. The whip is committed to the hands of apprentice boys, as well as to men, who often punish the slaves for very slight faults, arbitrarily.

#### Witness Examined—Mr. MARK COOK.

P. 189. Mr. Mark Cook arrived in Jamaica in 1774, and left it, 1790; was three years in planting business: rest of the time as clerk and schoolmaster with different gentlemen there.

His first impression of slaves treatment shocking; for he lived close by a cane-piece, where they worked, and constantly heard the whip going. Slaves used cruelly, hardly looked on better than beasts, and often used worse.

Have not sufficient food nor time to cultivate their grounds. Has known both Africans and Creoles eat

eat putrid carcases, is convinced through want, would 1791. not have done it if they had had other sufficient food : when they have time and opportunity, are very P. 190. cleanly in their food—are very fond of washing themselves.

Are but indifferently clothed : one half of them almost naked in the field ; this not from choice but want ; are fond of clothes when they can get any ; also badly lodged ; if overseers can get their work done, they do not attend to such matters.

Their usual punishments very severe, more so than necessary to procure the work to be done properly : much more of it might be done, were they better fed and less whipped.

Common to dung cane pieces by moon-light, and to oblige them to pick grass after their day's work : this a great hardship. Negroe's grounds generally P. 191. about two miles from the works ; common to exact grass picking for overseer's cattle ; seldom escape punishment if they neglect it. (p. 191.)

In crop-time they work in general about 18 hours out of 24 : are often hurt through mere fatigue and want of sleep : knew a girl lose her hand by the mill while feeding it ; for overcome by sleep, she dropped against the rollers. Has heard of several instances of the kind.

Has known negroes own grounds taken from them to be put in canes for master's use, and wood land given them in exchange—a great hardship, and certainly the cause of great dissatisfaction among them.

Thinks they are in general much neglected in sickness. There are doctors on estates, but they seldom attend. Has known negroes, ordered to work by doctor when incapable of doing it, drop in the field, and obliged to be brought back again.

Much the same work is expected from pregnant women as others ; has seen them holing within a few hours of delivery ; has known 39 lashes given them P. 192. at this time ; has heard many of them wish never to

1791. have children to undergo the hardships they themselves have been subject to.

Superannuated slaves have no allowance, and only what they can get among their relations; has seen them wandering about the beach, left to take care of themselves.

Desert frequently, owing to hunger and fear of flogging when threatened: when brought in are generally severely flogged, and sometimes have an iron boot put on one or both legs, and a chain or collar round their neck. The chain is locked, the collar fastened on by a rivet. When the collar is with 3 projections, it is impossible for them to lie down to sleep; even with 2 they must lie uneasily. Has seen collars with 4 projections. Never knew any injury from the chain and collar, but severely galling their necks; has, however, known a negro lose his leg from wearing the boot.

P. 193. A man and his wife, if industrious, and have their due time allowed them, may earn 3 or 4 bits per week, at the utmost. Never heard of a field negro buying his own freedom.

Domestic negroes are often severely punished, but not so often as field slaves: has known many instances: knew a lady, who had both her men and women domestics laid down and flogged every Monday morning for different slight offences, which happened in the previous week.

Knows of no legal protection slaves have against injuries from their masters.

Has known a field slave receive 200 lashes by order of the overseer, and a domestic 50, by order of his mistress.

P. 194. Once knew a runaway slave brought in, with part of a turkey with him, which he had stolen. His master immediately made two negroes hold him down, and with a hammer and a punch knocked out two of his upper and two of his under teeth. Really thinks negro had stolen from hunger, as he was nothing but skin and bones. Master was not reckoned cruel.

cruel. Witness lived with him three years, and re- 1791.  
members no other cruelty committed by him.

Never knew any complaint made to a magistrate, or punishment inflicted on owner or overseer in any of the cases mentioned, or in any other case whatsoever, for ill using a negro.

Has known negroes often punished for complaining to the owner or attorney against their overseers.

Chastity of negro women is not at all secure against overseers: if overseer sends for a girl for such a purpose, she must come or be flogged. Has known them threatened and flogged for refusing. Knew a Mulatto girl run away, in consequence of being threatened on that account. She was the wife of one of her own colour. Her husband and children ran away at the same time.

Has known both Mulattoes and Quadroons confined in irons 6 or 7 years, at the sole will of their owner. When they came out, (which was on the death of their mistress) their limbs were so distorted they could not walk. Was informed of it by one who lived two years on the estate, and had seen them often, and with whom he lived afterwards in the same employ.

Greatest recommendation of an overseer is the magnitude of the crop he makes, without regard to working the negroes hard; must work them hard to make large crops.

Some overseers are paid so much upon every hogshead of sugar, and puncheon of rum. Others have a stated annual salary.

Persons sometimes officiate on estates both as attorneys and overseers at same time. Has known attorneys reside 40 or 50 miles from the estates they were to superintend.

A gentleman, on whose estate he lived, bought P. 196.  
25 negroes in one lot, and at two years end had only  
8 or 10 left. A great many African negroes die in  
the first three years after importation.

**1791.** their own country, and grief at leaving it. Never knew one but wished to go back again. Was told by one, when asking him the mode of his capture, that they undermined the house in which he and family lived, and came in upon them in the night, and took them all away.

Knew a negro man who hanged himself, also a woman. On the same property a man had shot himself before witness came to it. Has heard of many other instances of the kind; all Africans. Great rejoicings made by African negroes at the funerals of each other, from a belief that the deceased are gone to their own country again.

Capacity of some negroes is very great: as to disposition, they seem stubborn at first coming, but grow better in time. In both these points they do not differ much from lower white people, when they have been sometime in the country.

**P. 197.** Knows two estates where, he believes, negroes increased by births, which he ascribes to good usage and their not being worked too hard.

Maroon negroes, believes, are increasing very fast.

Domestic used in general much better than field slaves; thinks they usually increase, but not so fast as field slaves, when well used.

Cultivation of cotton, coffee, and pimento, much more easy than that of sugar; and slaves there look better and increase faster than those on sugar estates.

Jobbing gangs are used in general better than field slaves, if they work under their own masters; but if under the overseer of the estate, much worse.

Slaves of a person embarrassed are worse clothed and fed on that account; thinks in general they are used better, when their owner lives on the estate himself.

Knows of no regulation to prevent separation of families, when slaves are sold by writs of venditioni, or from African ships. Slaves subject to imprisonment when seized for master's debts. Has known them

them lie long in gaol, and then sold, if the debt 1791.  
not paid.

Is of opinion white mechanics can do equally as much labour in Jamaica, if under shelter, as in England out of doors, at proper hours.

Believes there are now more droughts in Jamaica than formerly, on account of so much land having been cleared. Has heard many elderly natives say, they never formerly wanted seasonable weather.

Has seen many Guinea sailors lying about the towns, and travelling in the country full of ulcers ; seemed very miserable people : a very great proportion of those in Kingston hospital are Guineamen.

Few estates but what have runaway negroes. When the number is sufficient to make it worth while, book-keepers from the different estates, armed with a musket and a couteau, hunt after them in the woods. They fire at them at times, but not with a view of P. 199.  
killing them. Never knew any killed on such occasions.

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Witness examined—Captain Cook.

Captain Cook, of the 89th regiment, was in Bar-P. 199.  
badoes, St. Lucia, St. Kitt's, &c. in 1780 and 1781. Thought the negroes in the towns were treated with very great severity. He saw a woman named Rachel Lawder beat a female slave most unmercifully; having bruised her head almost to a jelly with the heel of her shoe, she threw her with great force on the seat of a child's necessary, and then tried to stamp her head through the hole, and would have murdered her if not prevented by two officers. The girl's crime was the not bringing money enough from on board ship, where she was sent by her mistress for the purpose of prostitution.

A domestick slave, an excellent servant, and in general well respected by the officers on whom he attended

1791. tended at mess, having made a mistake on an errand for some cards, his mistress, a person of respectable condition, calling him by name said, Go to the jumper (to P. 200. whom she paid 20s. a year to flog her negroes) give my service to him, and tell him to give you 27 lashes, with which the poor creature was obliged to comply. The company was displeased, and the officers left the house.

Two young ladies of fortune, sisters, one of whom was displeased at the pregnancy of a female slave belonging to the other, by the son of the surgeon attending the estate, proceeded to some very derogatory acts of cruelty. With their own garters they tied the young woman neck and heels, and then beat her almost to death with the heels of their shoes: one of her eyes continued a long while after in danger of being lost. They afterwards continued to use her ill, confining and degrading her. Captain Cook came in during the beating, and was an eye witness of it himself.

Neither in these nor any similar instances (and he could mention others) did the slave obtain any legal redress, nor does he know of any redress from law for the worst injuries, nor even of punishment for the murder of slaves. Two slaves were murdered and thrown into the road during his stay, yet no legal inquiry took place that he ever heard of. This excited his frequent inquiries from persons of all ranks and descriptions, and the universal answer was, that they did not choose to make examples of white men there, fearing it might be attended with dangerous consequences.

He never knew an instance of any endeavour to conceal cruelties of this kind. Being on a visit to General Frear at an estate of his in Barbadoes, and riding one morning with the General and two other officers, they saw near a house upon a dunghill, a naked negro nearly suspended by strings from his P. 201. elbows backwards, to the bough of a tree, with his feet barely resting upon the ground, and an iron weight

weight round his neck, at least, to appearance, of 1791.  
14lb. weight: and thus without one creature near him, or apparently near the house, was this wretch left exposed to the noon-day sun. Returning a few hours after they found him in the same state, and would have released him but for the advice of General Frear, who had an estate in the neighbourhood. The gentlemen through disgust shortened their visit, and returned the next morning.

The inferior white people, however, have a general impression, that they are punishable by law if they inflict more than 39 lashes at one time on a negro.

This law may be evaded by splitting a crime into many, and by intervals, dividing the times; and of this where slaves are punished at home, there are daily instances. Returning home one evening late with Major Fitch of the 90th regiment, they heard most dreadful cries, and on approaching the square at Bridge-Town, found they proceeded from the house of a man that sold liquor, and heard the repeated lashes of a whip on a creature whom they conceived to be dying. On their requesting admission, the cruelty seemed to be wantonly increased, which so provoked them that they broke open the door, and found a negro girl of about 19 chained to the floor, almost expiring with agony and loss of blood. The man taking refuge behind his compter from their indignation, and P. 202. thinking himself free from the law, immediately cried out with exultation, that he had only given her 39 lashes at a time, and that only three times since the beginning of the night. He then threatened them for breaking his door, and interfering between him and his slave, whom he would flog to death for all any one, and have given her the fourth 39 lashes before morning, which must have killed her as she seemed then to be dying.

When masters were embarrassed their slaves always suffered in clothes and food; they often suffered in the same manner from the rapacity of managers in the absence of their masters.

The

1791. The slaves on large estates, the managers being ~~in general more respectable men,~~ seemed happier than those on the smaller.

Female slaves in the towns are very frequently let out for prostitution, or at least on paying a weekly sum to their owners, have leave to go on board the ships of war for that purpose. This is common with the inferior people, and frequent even among the better sort. He has known a girl severely punished by her owner for returning without the full wages of her prostitution.

P. 203. On some estates of the better kind, care was taken of those whom age or infirmity had rendered no longer serviceable, and easy offices were assigned them, so that some have grown extremely old, and been useful to the last: but among the inferior, and sometimes among the most opulent, the reverse is the case; they have been dismissed to poverty and distress: and he does not believe that there is any law to prevent owners from turning such slaves upon the publick, to starve and die in the streets.

He has no doubt, and he speaks from many instances, that white people by habits of temperance, and regularity of hours, might bring themselves to go through nearly as much labour and fatigue in the West Indies as any people whatever.

It does not appear to him that the absence of the owner is in general hurtful to the slave, but that it has sometimes been much so, on one estate in particular, where the manager made a larger fortune than his master.

In general among the white people, and particularly the women, even of the better families, they believe, and endeavour to propagate an opinion, that the negroes are an inferior species of being.

The clearing of Barbadoes has been thought prejudicial to the fertility of the island, the trees formerly having attracted showers that do not now fall so frequently as before.

He

He has known both mulattoes and African negroes purchase their freedom, but never a field slave. 1791.

When resident at Barbadoes, two instances of negro suicide occurred. A slave who had fled from home for some crime he had committed, was lost for several weeks. Being accidentally met by a man whose business it is to take up runaway negroes, and two assistants with him; the negro too much intimidated to fly, cried out to them, "I will not be taken alive; you and I have lived many years together, and why should we hurt each other." So, brandishing his hanger, he said, "Keep off," and immediately stabbed himself. In the other instance, a slave jumped into a well to avoid punishment for a murder he had committed through jealousy.

When up in the country, he heard it said by the manager of an estate, that an old man, whose office it had long been to flog the negroes, could strike with a whip of 7 feet long or longer, so exactly, as to lodge the point of the lash just within the flesh, where it would remain, till picked out with his finger and thumb. The manager offered to shew the experiment, and tendered wagers that he succeeded once in three times, which were of course declined. Negroes, when flogged in the country, are laid on their belly, with a negro at each hand and foot to raise them from the ground. In towns, they stand bare in the open streets, and expose their posteriors to the jumper. He has been shocked to see in the streets of Bridge-Town, a girl of 16 or 17, a domestic slave, running on her ordinary business, with an iron collar, having two hooks projecting several inches both before and behind. P. 204.

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Witness Examined—Mr. WILLIAM FITZMAURICE.

Was in Jamaica from June, 1771, to March, 1786 P. 205.  
As overseer the last ten years, the former time book-  
Numb. 4. P keeper,

1791. keeper, except the first six months, when he was  
clerk to a store in Kingston.

In towns slaves were usually flogged on the wharfs, (where they were sent, because the place was public, and for the conveniency of the crane and weights, p, 206.) They are stript, tied up to the crane, with one or two fifty-sixes to their feet, and a handkerchief round them for decency, and flogged with 39 lashes, probably more. Others were sent to the work-houses and flogged every morning, or every monday morning, according to the master's disposition. The punishment was generally so severe, as to cut them and bring blood, so as to make their frocks, if immediately put on, appear as stiff as buckram. He never knew it inflicted by a magistrate's order.

Pregnant women were very often flogged as described, and frequently miscarried from severe whippings.

P. 206. This mode of punishment continued the same during all his stay in the island.

Negroes provision-grounds were always distant from their houses, sometimes three miles off; and sometimes where it was with great difficulty they got at them.

The slaves of involved masters were always pinched in provisions, at storms or hurricanes.

Slaves provision-grounds, if near the cane-pieces, and the owner wishes to enlarge his estate, are always taken from them, and put into canes. Other grounds are given them, and perhaps a day weekly allowed them to bring it to perfection. This is often attended with the greatest destruction to the negroes, who go about new grounds or to new houses with great reluctance. He has changed negroes to a far healthier situation, and lost many from the effect of the change on their spirits.

Some negro houses are pretty dry, but most of them are open to the weather, being wattled without plaster. They sleep on a board on the ground, near the fire, and after it goes out, they suffer from cold and

and damp. This causes many disorders, especially 1791. to lying-in-women, who lose more children by this ~~than any other cause, as they generally die of the~~ locked jaw.

Weakly-handed estates, which are far the most P. 207. numerous, form their negroes in crop, into two spells, which generally change at 12 at noon, and 12 at night. The boilers, and others about the works, cut canes from shell-blow, half past one, till dark; when they carry cane-top, or grass to the cattle-penns, and then may rest till 12 at night, when they relieve the spell in the boiling-house, by which they themselves were relieved at 12 in the day. On all estates, the boiling goes on night and day, except Sunday. But well-handed estates have three spells, and intermissions accordingly.

After crop, they form two gangs, if tolerably well P. 217. handed. The shell blows for turning out at 4 or 5 o'clock, or earlier. It depends on the overseer. They work till 10: have a quarter or perhaps half an hour for breakfast; work till one, when shell blows for dinner: if a rainy season, to take advantage of it, they work till the rain falls, which is two o'clock, perhaps later. He now speaks of the seasonable parts of the island. They have about an hour and half for dinner, and half an hour to get into the field, so as that the last shall get there exactly at the end of two hours; if not they are generally flogged. They often run to their grounds, which may be distant, to get provisions for supper. Hence loss of time, and frequent flogging. From dinner they work till dark, when they trash cattle-penns, or carry home grass. Then the book keeper calls the list. When they get home, it may be about 8 o'clock. This exactation is grievous, as the willing ones must wait till the lazy are brought up; and it causes whipping to those who neglect it. Some estates do not exact this duty, but most do.

Various works are considered as detached jobbs from the field-work, as hoeing intervals, which they

1791. can do before day; also moulding the cattle-pens, chopping up dung, making mortar, and other preparations for tradesmen. These are called before-day jobbs, which must be done, so as not to hinder the general work.

He never knew but one instance of work being done by task. He hired 60 negroes, all American, from a Mr. Douglas, and they had a task every morning measured out to them by Mr. D. or his overseer, and which they finished by 1 or 2 o'clock, and had the rest of the day to themselves. The driver carried no whip, and only went occasionally to see that the work was properly done. The plantation negroes, on the adjoining land, would not finish till dark (even with the driver) the same quantity of work. From this he thinks, tasks (of work that admit of it) would be to the ease of the negroes.

- P. 219. From the negroes working, as they commonly do, in rows, with the driver after them with his whip, it almost necessarily follows that the weak will be hard pushed to make them keep up with the strong. He is sorry to say, that from this cause, many negroes are hurried to the grave; as the able, even if placed with the weakly to bring them up, will leave them behind, and then the weakly are generally severely flogged up by the driver, considered as worthless, and perhaps kept all noon to bring up their rows.

It is the overseer and book-keeper's duty to attend particularly to the negro-grounds. The lazy, or those who give trouble by asking for food, are collected by the driver every Sunday morning, and on the days for working their grounds, (allowed every other week as the overseer chose) and kept to work in a gang, in clearing provision-ground, or putting in order those they have.

Negroes often go 18 or 20 miles to the Sunday market, as he particularly knew the last four years he was in Jamaica. These journies are very hurtful to the Negroes, and it is almost impossible to prevent them.

He

He never heard of a common field-slave buying 1791. his freedom. Has known negroes who had saved a little money; generally head-carpenters, &c, endeavour to do it. Some masters have sold them their P. 220. freedom, when on the border of becoming invalids, and where the estate was not mortgaged. On the last estate on which he lived, a very old, yet valuable man, who was head cattle-man, asked him to speak to the attorney to get him his freedom; but the estate being mortgaged it could not be done. (Africans who have been many years tradesmen or head-men, may probably buy their freedom when old, p. 232).

Very often, especially in the towns, the poorer whites and Jews let their negroes work out, and pay them a certain weekly sum. Many who have no trades, are pushed very hard to do this, and often skulk into the country, rob on estates, are chopped or maimed by watchmen, or sent to gaol as runaways. Handsome women are obliged to bring home more money than ordinary, it being expected they will be kept by whites or free persons. This is much the practice in Kingston and Spanish town, where he was a good deal. Old negroes past labour, especially those of Jews, are desired to provide for themselves, and he is sorry to say often suffer by hunger, or rough treatment, when caught stealing on the estates.

On some estates, where the proprietor lives, the doctor may attend twice a week, which is generally expected; but where the proprietor is absent, and the P. 221. attorney 30, 50, or 100 miles off, the negroes often suffer very severely indeed, for want of medical care. The doctors are often young and inexperienced, which is generally attended with very fatal effects and certain ruin to the owner, as he knows from experience. The ordinary care of the sick depends on the hot-house (hospital) man or woman, who bleed, dress sores, and give medicine, as directed by the doctor or overseer. Resident planters allow the hot-house person

1791. son a little wine, by the doctor's order; but, on absentees estates, the overseer, even if so humane as to give it out of his own pocket, is perhaps distant from town, and has no wine. Attorneys, generally do not give it, alledging it would not be allowed in their accounts: they always told him so, when he wrote for wine for the sick. He knows some, whose estates are in their own possession, who send out wine from hence; but this is not general. After long droughts, negroes are apt to get fluxes, by eating green vegetables, or bad flour, especially the former.

P. 222. He lived with proprietors who wished to encourage propagation; but they are often obliged to push them, for good crops. He lived with others who desired to push them, and with whom the loss of a few negroes or stock was nothing compared to large crops, to satisfy their creditors.

Negroes particularly suffer in the hands of mortgagees. In general people in debt push constantly to get out of it, and to raise their credit to buy negroes, which he has known them buy, when, probably, they could not get credit for any other commodity. There is a custom, in Jamaica, of obtaining negroes on bond and judgment.

Some years ago, it was an old saying, in St. Thomas in the Vale (or Sixteen-Mile-Walk) that if a negroe lived 7 years, he paid for himself. The work was so hard there that it was proverbial, "A Sixteen-Mile-Walk book-keeper, and a Clarendon mule, are the two hardest animals in the country." Several proprietors told him, they considered a child born and reared on the estate to be a dear negro, and overseers generally dislike breeding, as interfering with the work of the women. He has known other proprietors take pleasure in seeing the women breed. Many infants die of the locked jaw, within the 14th day, which he believes, from his last six years experience, is chiefly owing to cold and uncleanness. The lying-in women generally have large fires in their rooms, which being often broken, let in the cold,

cold, and when the fire goes out a severe chill follows, by which the infant suffers. A great many die of yaws which require great cleanliness. When overseer, he has been directed to attend to the rearing of children ; but speaking generally, from his own knowledge, infants had not the requisite care. Believes the stock of slaves could not be kept up or increased on the present system ; it would take some time to bring about. He means the easing the negroes, which he thinks might be done, by using the plough on every estate, and, where it can run, putting in the canes after it.

On Raimesberry estate, in Clarendon, the negroes increased so fast, that a gang of them was drawn off to settle a new estate called Yarmouth, which he had the care of, but the settlement was discontinued, from the change of the attorney. On Orange in St. James's no negroes were bought, for at least 15 years, and they increased ; as also on Eden in the same parish. He lived on both these estates. Negroes worked moderately may be increased. He has known estates where the negroes were worked severely hard, they increased and decreased nearly equal.

Nothing is more common, than negroes suffering by change of management; as new overseers, as well as inexperienced overseers, push the negroes to make greater crops than their predecessors.

A gentleman had two estates in Clarendon, one of which Mr. F. managed. He had too few negroes for both, but enough for one. He was also much in debt, and his negroes suffering from being overwrought. He put both gangs on one estate, which were amply sufficient, is now making 400 hogsheads of sugar, and is a clear man. Both estates did not before make 150 hogsheads. Most of the time he was his own overseer. Mr. F. never knew he bought any negroes since then, which is about 13 years ago. But cannot speak of this as a fact.

In St. Thomas in the Vale, on the estate of a gentleman lately deceased, by over-pushing, most of the negroes

1791.

P. 223.

1791. negroes were destroyed, while he was in England.

On his return, his estates were almost without negroes and those that lived were taken by writs of Venditioni, and judgments against him to a large amount. Mr. F. bought, at a sale, 50 odd, to cover a debt for a house in Kingston. Two of his estates were thrown up when Mr. F. left the island, the other three are in the hands of mortgagees. Another estate, within three miles of Montego bay, was making from

P. 225. 180 to 200 hogsheads, with an adequate strength, when it was put in possession of mortgagees. In twelve years it was reduced to 10 hogsheads. The slaves were destroyed, by making an unnecessary canal in swamps. It was brought to sale in 1788, bought by the mortgagee, and is now brought up to its former crops. The proprietor of the estate was most of the time in England. The overseer of it made 10,000l. and retired.

When overseer on an estate in St. John's, the estate being short handed, Mr. F. mentioned to the proprietor that he would not take off the crop with the negroes and cattle. He told Mr. F. to drive them without mercy, as the loss of a few negroes and stock was no object compared to sending home his crop in time. Mr. F. left him about the end of crop, because he would not see 100 lashes given to a domestic, not immediately under his direction, and who he did not think deserved this punishment.

He has known the plough used on many estates with advantage, as it eases the negroes, and pulverizes the soil. (But some soils do not require pulverizing, p. 226.) Dove-Hall, in St. Thomas in the Vale, plows 40 or 50 acres every fall. He has known Mr. Edwards only put in canes after the plough without holing, except on an estate Mr. Pinnock is attorney for, and which made great returns. The chief obstacle to the plough is, that managers have not time to adopt it, looking for immediate labour, and often there is not a blacksmith within 15 miles to repair it.

He

He has often attempted plowing and has been obliged, 1791.  
by these obstacles, to leave it off.

In some cases, the Doctor's visits are a considerable check on the overseers severity, where the proprietor lives on the estate. But when the attorney lives perhaps 20, 30, 40, or even 100 miles off, then it is the interest of the overseer and doctor, not to find fault with each other.

He is sorry to say, he never knew recourse had to legal redress for wanton cruelty to slaves. Has known people, a Mr. Rushie in particular, whom he had occasion to see, almost daily, commit cruelties which brought negroes to their end. He caught him, one day, in the act of hanging a negroe. On his remonstrating, Rushie ordered him off his estate. He rode away and informed his employer, who was a magistrate and who desired him to go and inquire the next morning, before R. was up, whether the negro was dead. This Mr. F. did; and on privately asking a white man, he desired Mr. F. to go into the curing-house, when he saw the negro lying dead on a board. He returned and told what he had seen to his employer, who was very much shocked; but Mr. F. heard nothing more of it. It was well known this man killed many of his negroes, and that so fast, as to force him to sell his estate. Cases of this kind, he cannot say, are frequent; but severity, and hard work certainly cause a constant decrease of the able negroes. No attempt was made to bring Rushie to P. 227. punishment. His character was generally known, and much despised by the neighbouring proprietors. He thinks, his employer desired him to make the above inquiry more from curiosity than an intention to enforce the law against Rushie, with whom he was on decent terms. He and his employer often visited him, and always found his negroes laid up with cruelties, and those that could work chained to the coppers, or, in gangs linked in the field. Other cruelties he practised, were too indecent to be mentioned. He often found Rushie dropping hot lead

1791. on his negroes, but took no notice of it; as he wished nobody to see him acting those cruelties. He did not interfere; because he got his bread from employers, and did not wish to be disliked, or called officious, p. 231). Other acts of cruelty are often practised, according to the disposition or viciousness of the master or overseer. An overseer he knew well, (and who, as before said, brought down an estate, by the countenance of the mortgage-in-possession, from 180 to 10 hogsheads) was charged with gelding a negro on the estate, for riding out his horses at night, and he believes justly; as afterwards Mr. F. knew he kept a negro of his own: on which the troop of horse he was captain of, and in which Mr. F. served, objected to do duty with him.

P. 228. He cannot say field slaves, in general, appeared to him marked with the whip. Where there are cruel managers, and large crops exacted, the effects are visible on the negroes.

Negroes are often driven by severity to run away. They go to their masters or attorneys, if within reach; but when the attorney lives perhaps 70 or 100 miles off, they prefer going into the woods, being generally taken up as runaways before the journey's end. Planters who employ distant attorneys, are sure to suffer by it. Runaways, when caught, are whipped and confined, or if the manager is humane, perhaps forgiven; but they are generally punished to deter others.

He never saw mutilation actually inflicted; but on an estate where he was book-keeper, there was a negro, whose master had had his leg cut off, and had made him a blacksmith. The master said he had, by so doing, made him his most valuable negro; as he did all the iron-work of the three estates, and, before that, he was always running away.

It was generally understood that whipping was limited to 39 lashes: but it is often evaded by putting the negro into the stocks, and giving him 39 more, for the same offence, next day. Hasty and vicious

vicious people would give perhaps 100 lashes, and 1791. if the negro died from it, (which however he never knew) where the owner or attorney lived not near enough, they escaped unpunished.

Has known too many suicides, among new negroes P. 229. especially, both by hanging themselves and by dirt-eating, which they knew to be fatal. He lost, one year, 12 new negroes by it, though he fed them well. On his remonstrating, they constantly told him, they preferred dying to living. A great proportion of the new negroes that go on sugar estates, die in this way.

They are always talking of their being taken away, and kidnapped, from their country, and of the hardship of slavery.

Nothing is more common than persons buying new negroes, before they have sufficient provision-grounds, and other accommodations for them: and the masters finding it very difficult to buy provisions, the negroes feel hunger, before they can establish grounds, and soil and seasons are often against their raising provisions. Hence such negroes are often lost. New negroes in towns, are better off, being generally employed in the house, and fed weekly.

A man may be attorney for from 1 to 20 estates, according to his interest. He knows several who P. 230. are attorneys for a great number, in various parts of the island, perhaps at the distance of 10, 30, 60, or 80 miles, or more, as it happened.

Some overseers have premiums for all they make, above a certain number of hogsheads; but this is not the common mode. Attorneys have salaries or commissions. Believes attorneys on most mortgaged estates, draw commissions on the net crops, as well as on what they buy on the island for the use of the estates; and they accumulate great riches.

Some overseers have negroes, others have not; but generally they convert their salaries into negroes. If allowed to work them on the estates where they

**1791.** themselves live, it causes a jealousy between the manager's and the plantation negroes.

Thinks, on an average at least one-third of the new negroes imported into the island, die in the first three years, and three men die to one woman as he has experienced. The men take every thing unpleasant to heart, and often kill themselves. The women have many protections the men have not, as being taken as wives by the plantation negroes, or being made domestics.

**P. 231.** In the last four years he was in Jamaica, he bought 95 new negroes; at the end of that time, he sold 52, all that were alive, and those not seasoned. Had he kept them till seasoned, he should have lost more, and for this very reason he sold them.

The lower whites too often looked on the negroes as inferior beings, and often beat them, unless checked by the attorneys or overseers.

He only knew one attempt made to give the negroes religious instruction, and that was by a proprietor in Liguanea, who encouraged one or two American negroes, who professed to be capable to give his negroes some religious notions. But the neighbours considered this as dangerous, by assem-

**P. 232.**bling too many negroes, who might be mutinous. The aforesaid gang of 80 American negroes, after work, went to prayers; they were a valuable gang, and worked task-work for him about nine months.

The cane land is generally as fit for cotton, coffee, or other articles.

Though domestics may not be the best slaves, they appear so, as the house soon makes a visible change on them.

He has been at twenty sales by scramble, at least. No particular care was taken to prevent the separation of relations, except sucking children, or those under three or four years.

Sales by venditioni are very frequent, where levies are made. He has known them three months or longer

longer in prison, before sale. But this depends on 1791.  
occasional circumstances.

Refuse slaves are sold according to their appearance, some as low as three dollars. They are generally bought by the Jews in towns, at vendue or at private sale.

He has always, as overseer, given in to the vestries, the annual returns of slaves, stock, &c. and, as vestry-man, (in 1736, in St. Thomas, in the Vale, where he possessed land and negroes) has received such returns, in which it was not usual to distinguish the sexes.

Has very frequently seen Guinea sailors wandering about the island, in an abject state.

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Witness examined,—Mr. THOMAS CLAPPESON.

Was at Jamaica in 1762 and 1763; from 1768 to P. 207. 1778, and 1786 to 1789. The general opinion he formed, was, that the slaves were severely treated, and in a miserable state.

Thinks that, in general, the food which they can obtain, is insufficient.

For the first 2 years, he was in the seafaring line, P. 208. the rest of the time wharfinger and pilot.

Had opportunities of seeing many negroes from the estates; such as he asked, as to their feeding, generally said (particularly in droughts, when provisions were scarce) “ Hungry da kill me.”

Very commonly suffer both in quality and quantity of food, from the embarrassments of their masters: has known several who had not credit for provisions; others who bought, for cheapness, damaged corn, &c. when better was to be had; which he has himself sold, and which the slaves complained of, when they came to fetch it from the wharf; a neighbour told him his hogs would not eat it.

Knew

**1791.** Knew a person near him, reputed worth £50,000 lose 10 or 12 slaves for want of food, when it was to be had.

**P. 209.** Slaves generally steal provisions, soap, candles, &c. which they sometimes steal to sell.

They are generally ill clothed; never knew any go naked from choice.

The punishments appeared in general severe, to the fear of which he chiefly attributes the frequent desertions.

Knew a pregnant woman whipped, and delivered on the spot.

Has heard of very great severities to runaways; has seen them wear iron collars on their necks, and pot-hooks, with 3 prongs, both rivetted; the prongs projecting 2 feet; thinks the wearer cannot easily lye down.

Never heard of slaves obtaining any redress for injuries, by masters or overseers.

**P. 210.** An overseer told him, he had often picketed the slaves to extort confession.

Knew a cooper give his slave 200 lashes, for stealing a little rice from him. He allowed his slaves a herring a day, and a bit a week.

The wharfinger whom he succeeded in 1786, allowed his negroes a herring a day only.

Knew, in 1789, a man who had an old decrepid woman slave, to whom he would allow nothing. He remonstrated with him on it, in vain.

Slaves are often imprisoned on writs of venditioni; at the sale of such, never heard of any attention to avoid separating families.

**P. 211.** The general recommendation of an overseer is, good sugars and large quantities; has known an overseer paid a guinea per hogshead, besides his salary, for all he could make beyond a certain quantity.

Has known several persons attorney and overseer on the same estate.

Slaves are supposed better off where the owner resides; has heard it always supposed, that the better they are treated, the more it is for the owner's interest. 1791.

It is common for persons who have a few slaves, and but little work, to oblige them to earn 3 or 4 bits a day, and punish them very severely if they fail to bring home such sum; has known them steal grass and sell it to do this: knew a man compel his old negro, wanting a leg, to pay him 4 bits a day.

African negroes are capable of being made mechanics.

They destroy themselves sometimes, from various causes; fear of punishment, jealousy, &c. it is a very prevailing opinion with them, that at death they return to their own country. P. 212.

Has often heard of their being kidnapped in Africa: he had a slave who had been a negro-catcher in his own country.

Has seen several slave sales on board, all by scramble. In 1789, saw a sale by scramble in a butcher's slaughter-house on the beach. Never heard of any precautions at scrambles, to prevent the separation of relations or friends. Thinks whites, if temperate, are able to labour in Jamaica; he never worked harder than he has done there; no people work harder than our sailors do there.

Has heard, that clearing the lands, has, near the sea coast, caused more drought.

In his returns to the vestry of the number of slaves, he never used to distinguish the sexes.

The free negroes in general behaved well, they were fishermen and tradesmen. P. 213.

Has heard of several people buying more slaves than they could pay for.

Has heard often seamen say, that in Guinea ships, the crews are ill treated, to make them desert; has always understood, that they did not want to carry home as many seamen as they took out; that they got

1791. got rid of what they could in the West Indies, to save their wages.
- P. 214. Was in Jamaica when the assembly passed the consolidated law; he has often heard it was passed because of the stir about the slave trade in England. Never heard that any regard was paid to it, slaves being still treated as before. Never heard of any prosecution for such disregard: recollects an instance of disregard to it, which came under his eye. The owner of an old and decrepid female slave, would allow her neither victuals nor clothing; advised a son of the woman to complain to a magistrate, who would perhaps order her to be taken care of; believes he was deterred from fear of punishment, as that owner treated his slaves very harshly in general.
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Witness examined—WILLIAM BEVERLEY, Esq.  
A Student of Lincoln's Inn.

- P. 215. Was born in Virginia, and lived there the first 16 years of his life, returned in 1786, and resided above two years in different parts of America.

The negroes in Virginia always kept up their numbers, and generally increased. His father's more than doubled their numbers. In 1761 he had about 200, and in 1788, he paid taxes on above 540, of whom not above 20 or 30 had been added by purchase.

- P. 216. Slaves there had no legal redress, for ill usage by their masters. In other cases they had, on proving the fact by two white witnesses.

In summer, negroes were generally healthier than in winter, when they always complained of the cold, though it did not hurt their health, when well clothed. The diseases most fatal there are agues and fevers, in summer, to which negroes are less subject than whites.

They

They were generally punished with much severity; but that depends greatly on the owner's disposition. 1790.

Each slave had a bushel of Indian corn meal weekly: besides this allowance, they usually had ground to cultivate for their own use; but this depended a good deal on the master. They were all allowed to raise poultry.

He never heard of any attempts to give the slaves religious or moral instruction.

Has heard of some slaves working by task; but, in general, it was not practised.

Never knew a slave destroy himself.

The slaves of distant proprietors were often treated, P. 232. by the overseers, much more severely, than those under the master's eye. This different treatment was observable in the appearance of the slaves.

Was told in America, that when the abolition of the slave-trade was first agitated in 1774, many doubted the practicability of keeping up the numbers by births; and the persons so doubting have since expressed to him a conviction that their fears were groundless. The slave-trade was abolished in America in 1774.

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Witness examined—Mr. GEORGE WOODWARD.

Mr. George Woodward is both an owner and P. 233. mortgagee of W. India property, in Barbadoes; where he resided in 1782 and 1783, and was also P. 234. in 1777.

Both in town and country he thought the domestics very numerous. There seemed to be more females than males in the island. While resident, he never heard any complaint of the want of negroes to carry on plantation or other business. He does not recollect the sale of a single cargo of slaves while

Numb. 4.

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there.

1791. there. The labour of slaves the year round he thinks cannot be reckoned easy.

It is possible in a great degree to relieve the labour of slaves by the plough. He has used it himself: the first he ever saw, he took over himself, and he is sure it tilled the ground better than the hoe did. One plough, two men, and four horses, will do as much work as thirty negroes, and better. The labour of holding the plough is much easier than holing. It did not require much negro labour to prepare the ground for the cane after the plough.

P. 235. There is not much difficulty of ploughing to the depth of six inches, which is the rule, and a sufficient depth for the cane. The plough may be made to plough the strongest clay land that is.

The negroes are capable of learning the management of the plough. He thinks that the largest part of the cane land and ginger land of Barbadoes may be ploughed to the advantage of the proprietor, and saving of negroes labour. The negroes are not averse to the plough: he has seen them both hold and drive it. He did not find the cattle injured by the labour. He is acquainted with the use of the plough in England, he farms land of his own. Capt. Lee took out some ploughs about 3 years ago.

He is not apprehensive that the abolition of the slave trade will injure his W. India property. He thinks it would be of advantage to the island of P. 236. Barbadoes. By using them well, and by good management, the stock of slaves would naturally increase, without importation.

Witness examined—Mr. JOSEPH WOODWARD.

Mr. Joseph Woodward has been in Barbadoes in 1788, 1789 and 1790. He has there seen the plough in use by Mr. Henry Trotman, jun. He believes he has used it many years.

Mr.

Mr. Trotman informed him that he thought tillage by the plough both better and cheaper than the labour of negroes with the hoe. The soil that he ploughed was not the best, it was rather rocky. Mr. Trotman told him, that the plough then answered his purpose, and in time would become general, when people became acquainted with its utility.

He once at Bridgetown saw a negro lying on the wharf, so very much debilitated that he could not stand, and heard from him, that his owner would not take him in. He appeared about 60 years old.

He has known free negroes hire themselves to stow sugars in the ships hold; he has known them so employed on board his own ship. He knows no labour either of blacks or whites more severe than this is.

#### Witness examined—Mr. JAMES KIERNAN.

Was in Africa in 1775, 1776, 1777, and 1778, to learn the nature of the trade, to carry it on.

The trade for slaves in the R. Senegal, where he resided, was chiefly with the Moors, on the northern banks, who got them very often by war, and not seldom by kidnapping; i. e. lying in wait near a village, where there was no open war, and seizing whom they could.

Has often heard of villages, and seen the remains of such, broken up by making the people slaves.

Has always heard kidnapping spoken of there as notorious; and has seen proofs of it by persons so taken being ransomed; when, very often, the white trader asks more than the value of the slave, to give him up: never heard of a white trader, before buying a slave, inquire into the right of the seller.

R 2

Never

1791. Never knew any person sold for witchcraft; a belief in it exists strongly on that part of the coast.

The first year, by far the greatest number of slaves were offered to sale, from an open war then subsisting between the Moors and negroes; to which P. 239. the Moors have always a strong inducement, most of the European goods they obtain, being got in exchange for slaves. Hence desolation and waste; in a few years, they extirpated large settlements on the northern banks of the Senegal, and in time they were expected to root out all the black nations between the Senegal and Gambia. The Moors neither follow nor encourage agriculture.

Believes, that to be sold to Europeans, is considered by all negroes from inland, as well as on the coast, as a punishment only short of death.

The inhabitants of the island of St. Louis, are estimated at about 5000, who are supplied with cattle by the Moors, and with corn by the blacks only.

Ships bound to the W. Indies were supplied by the blacks with large quantities of corn, which the slaves preferred to any other food.

The blacks on the south banks of the Senegal raise cotton, indigo, and tobacco, sufficient for their use.

Knows the negroes manufacture cotton, leather, and metals, for they supply Senegal with clothing, articles of leather, and ornaments of gold and silver: they dye some of their cottons very finely, blues and scarlets; believes their consumption of cotton cloths is very considerable.

Never knew the natives backward in supplying any considerable demand for provisions, when properly encouraged.

Never knew the natives encouraged by Europeans to raise for sale other produce than provisions.

Persons of property there, have a great number of persons under the denomination of slaves, whom they

they treat as Europeans would people of their own family.

Witness examined—HENRY BOTHAM, Esq.

Went to the W. Indies 1770, and, in about two years, visited all the islands, English and French, and was employed by government in Grenada, to ascertain the difference of property there between the old and new subjects.

He was not long a planter in the W. Indies. He directed Messrs. Bosanquet and Fatio's sugar estate there, in their partner's absence; but he carried on sugar works many years at Bencoolen, in the East Indies.

He has examined the account, in the P. Council's Report, of the mode of cultivating sugar in the East Indies, and it is the same which he delivered in. He drew it up from having long considered the subject, and, since he delivered it to the P. Council, sees no reason to make any alteration in it.

The following is an Abridgment of the said account:

“ Mr. Botham on the Mode of cultivating a Sugar Plantation in the East Indies, &c.”

Having been 2 years in the English and French W. India islands, and since conducted sugar estates in the E. Indies; it may be desirable to know that sugar, better and cheaper than that in our islands, and also arrack, are produced in the E. Indies, by the labour of free people. China, Bengal, and the coast of Malabar, produce quantities of sugar and spirits; but, as the most considerable sugar estates are near Batavia, I shall explain the improved mode of conducting those estates. The proprietor is generally a rich Dutchman, who has built on it substantial works. He rents the estate (say of 300 or more acres) to a Chinese, who lives on and superintends

**1791.** tends it, and who re-lets it to free men, in parcels of 50 or 60, on condition that they shall plant it in canes for so much for every pecul, 133½ lb. of sugar produced. The superintendent collects people from the adjacent villages to take off his crop. One set of task-men, with their carts and buffaloes, cut the canes, carry them to the mill and grind them. A second set boil them. A third clay and basket them for market, at so much per pecul.

Thus the renter knows with certainty what every pecul will cost him. He has no unnecessary expence, for when crop is over, the task-men go home, and, for 7 months in the year, there only remain on the estate the cane planters, preparing the next crop. By dividing the labour, it is cheaper and better done.

**P. 243.** Only clayed sugars are made at Batavia, which are equal to the best from the W. Indies, and sold at 18s. per pecul. The Shabander exacts a dollar per pecul on all sugar exported. The price of common labour is from 9d to 10d per day. But the taskmen gain considerably more, not only from extra work, but from being considered artists in their several branches. They do not make spirits on the sugar estates; the molasses and skimmings are sent for sale to Batavia, where one distillery may buy the produce of 100 estates. Here is a vast saving in making spirits, not as in the W. Indies, a distillery for each estate: arrack is sold at Batavia at about 8d. per gallon; the proof of the spirit is about 5-tenths.

After spending two years in the West Indies, I returned to the East in 1776, and in the last war conducted sugar works at Bencoolen, in Sumatra, on nearly the same principles as the Dutch; I confined my expences to what they had done, allowing for the unavoidable charges, on a new and sole undertaking.

The cane is cultivated to the utmost perfection at Batavia; the hoe, almost the sole implement of the West, is there scarcely used; the lands are well ploughed by a light plough with a single buffalo; a drill

drill is then ploughed, and a person with two bas- 1791.  
kets filled with cane plants, suspended to a stick across his shoulders, drops into the furrow plants alternately from each basket, covering them at the same time with earth with his feet. Young canes are kept often ploughed as a weeding, and the hoe is used to weed round the plant when very young; but of this there P. 244,  
is little need if the land has been sufficiently ploughed. When the cane is ready to earth up, the space between the rows, is ploughed deep, the cane-tops tied up, and with an instrument like a shovel, with teeth at the bottom, a spade-handle, and two cords fixed to the body of the shovel, ending by a wooden handle for a purchase, is used by two persons to earth up the cane, the strongest holding the handle of the shovel, pressing it into the ploughed earth, while the other on the opposite side of the plant, by a jerk of the cord, draws up to the plant, all the earth that the plough had loosened. Two persons with this instrument, will earth up more canes in the day than 10 negroes with hoes. The canes in India are much higher earthed than in the West Indies; in moist soils, they, with little labour, earth them as high as the knee, at once making a dry bed for the cane, and a drain for the water.

The improvement in making the cane into sugar, at Batavia, keeps pace with that in its culture: evaporation being in proportion to the surface, their boilers have as much of it as possible. The cane juice is tempered and boiled to a syrup; it is then thrown into vats, which hold one boiling, there sprinkled with water, to subside its foul parts: after standing six hours, is let off by 3 pegs of different heights, into a copper with one fire; it is there tempered again, and reduced to sugar, by a gentle fire; it granulates, and the boiler dipping a wand into the copper, strikes it on the side, then drops the sugar remaining on it, into a cup of water, scrapes it up with his thumb-nail, and can judge to a nicety of the sugar's being properly boiled. The vats I mentioned

1790. tioned are placed all at the left end of a set of copper-pers. After running off for boiling all that is clear, P. 245. the rest is strained on the outside of the boiling-house; what is fine is put into the copper for sugar, the lees kept for distilling.

Claying of sugar is as in the W. Indies. The cane trash is not, as in our islands, carried into sheds, where it loses much of its strength before it is used; but is laid out immediately to dry, then made into faggots, set up in cocks, and used immediately when dry; hence its force of fire is much greater, and the carrying it to and from the trash-house is saved.

The culture of the cane in the West Indies is in its infancy. Many alterations are to be made, expenses, and human labour lessened; the hoe, now used to turn up soils of different texture, is of one construction, cheap and very light; so that the negro, without any help from its weight, digs up the earth, (and, the cane roots, on replanting) by the severest exertion. In the East we plough up the cane roots.

Having experienced the difference of labourers for profit, and labourers from force, I can assert, that the savings by the former are very considerable.

The West India planter, for his own interest, should give more labour to beast, and less to man; a larger portion of his estate ought to be in pasture. When practicable, canes should be carried to the mill, and cane tops and grass to the stock, in waggon; the custom of making a hard-worked negro get a bundle of grass twice a day abolished; and in

P. 246. short a total change take place of the miserable management in our West India islands. By this means following, as near as possible, the East India mode, consolidating the distilleries, I do suppose our sugar islands might be better worked than they now are, by two-thirds, or indeed one-half of the present force Let it be considered, how much labour is lost by the persons overseeing the forced labourer, which is saved, when he works for his own profit. I have

have stated, with the strictest veracity, a plain matter 1791. of fact—that sugar estates can be worked cheaper by ~~two~~ free persons than slaves.

Whether the slave-trade can be abolished, and the blacks freed, is for the consideration of Parliament. In my judgment, these desirable purposes, may be effected without materially injuring the West India planter. He has but to improve his culture, lessen human labour, and the progeny of the present blacks will answer every purpose of working West India estates. [See this account at large in the Privy Council's Report, at the end of Part III.]

The slaves in the French islands appeared to be better cloathed, better fed, and better behaved, than in the British: and their being well fed is chiefly owing to the French planter putting a great proportion of his estate in provisions.

Whether it might or might not be ultimately for the interest of the British planter, and the benefit of his slaves, if he were to allot to provisions, more of the land now destined to sugar, is a question that can only be decided by experiment in the different islands, as the same answer to it would not suit each. In islands that seldom fail in rains, it is no doubt for the planter's interest, to sacrifice a part of the ground allotted for sugar, to provisions; as these feed his negroes better than any dry or other provisions imported: but in islands subject to droughts, he does P. 247. not think the planter can without materially lessening his crop of sugar, give up any portion of ground to provisions.

In 1764, when the East India Company's possessions in Sumatra were returned to them by the French, they were informed by their servants at Bencoolen, that the public works, and other labours of their settlement, could not be carried on without a large supply of slaves; the Company therefore sent slave-ships to Africa and Madagascar, and transported to Bencoolen nearly 1000 slaves, in much the same proportion of men, women, and children, as are

1791. carried from Africa to the West Indies, that is more men, than women and children. These slaves, on the first years of their arrival, from the unhealthiness of the climate, and other causes, decreased: but when they had been at Bencoolen a few years, where they were well fed, humanely treated, and had very little work, they began annually to increase; notwithstanding, from the little attention that was paid to their way of life, both men and women lived in the most abandoned way. The wonder was, that they did increase, as the young female slaves were common prostitutes to the soldiers and sailors.

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Witness examined—JOHN SAVAGE, Esq.

P. 247.

Resided in Carolina from 1729 to 1775. Was not a planter, but was repeatedly on many plantations as a visitant for a day or two at a time, and knew the state of negroes there.

Understood labour was performed by task in most P. 248. operations on estates.

Negroes increased greatly where well clothed and fed; is doubtful if they increased where clothed and fed badly. Heard where masters were harsh, they could not raise children, or but a few.

Where masters were prudent, and kept themselves out of debt, negroes were hearty and strong: hence they got more work out of them than those who did not use them so well, and these were they who made fortunes by planting.

A friend of his, Gabriel Manigault, Esq. informed him, that in 1737 he had on his estate 86 negroes, of whom 12 or 14 were superannuated. The latter he replaced by others. With no more addition than this, they had increased to 270 about a year or two before witness left the country. Mr. Manigault's estate (by purchase) consisted of about 18000 or 19000 acres, 6000 of which were settled, and 12000 or

or 13000 not so; for the latter he had taxes and quit rents to pay for many years till his son came of age, to whom he then gave them. Notwithstanding this charge on the unimproved land, he always made interest of his purchase-money. Mr. M. was a man of humanity, and gave his slaves sufficient clothes, food, and accommodations.

In the year 1739 there was a duty laid on the importation of slaves to Carolina, which amounted to a prohibition, and which continued to 1744. The purchase of new negroes having involved the planters greatly in debt, was the reason why the legislature laid it.

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Witness Examined—JOHN CLAPHAM, Esq.

Was upwards of 20 years in Maryland. Negroes P. 249.  
kept up their numbers there by propagation, and increased, so that the overplus in some instances were shipped to the W. Indies. Has known 100 sales, where proprietors have had too many for their use in consequence of increase by propagation; yet they were not thought to be well treated, though better than to the southward, and the climate was subject to great and sudden variety of heat and cold.

Attempts were not frequent in Maryland to give religious instruction to negroes.

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Witness Examined—ROBERT CREW, Esq.

Is a native of Virginia, and resided there till 1783. Knew the state of the plantation slaves there.

Had sufficient clothing, and as much Indian meal P. 250. as they could use, and were in general supplied daily with flesh, fish, or something else added to their meal or bread.

Overseers on large estates superintended slaves, but

1791. without a whip, as a master on a small estate, or a  
~~~ bailiff would in this country.

Negroes in Virginia increased rapidly without importation, so much so, that it was a general opinion, that it was profitable to hold slaves on this account, exclusive of the profits of their labour.

Treatment was different on different estates. Where the master was involved and did not superintend his own estate, his overseers were directed to make the greatest possible quantities of tobacco, to supply his pressing necessities. Here the slaves were ill used, worked excessively hard, and were not sufficiently fed. Where the proprietor was in good circumstances, and could pursue his own interest, they were not so hard worked, and had better supplies of food and clothing.

P. 251. This severe system in some, though he thinks never so severe in any circumstances (with a few exceptions) as to cause a decrease in their numbers, and indeed small profits of tobacco plantations could not afford fresh supplies, yet had the effect certainly of preventing their increasing so fast as they otherwise would. Such a system was deemed unprofitable.

Spent a few months at Barbadoes and St. Croix, Was struck with the difference of the treatment of slaves there and in Virginia. A driver with a whip stood over them while at work: they were nearly without clothing. These were the obvious differences. No knowledge of particulars. Thinks the use of the whip formed a difference in their treatment considerably to the disadvantage of West Indian slaves.

Thinks the culture of tobacco nearly as laborious as that of sugar; and the climate of Virginia is not so favourable as that of the West Indies, to African constitutions, on account of the severe cold of the winter.

Importation of African slaves into Virginia, has been generally discontinued since 1772.

Witness examined,—HERCULES Ross, Esq.

Resided chiefly in Jamaica, from 1761, to 1782, 1791.
and occasionally in Hispaniola.

Had occasion to be in every parish of the island, P. 252.
and to be acquainted with the state and treatment of
slaves, which depends on circumstances : under a man
of humanity, and where the numbers were equal
to the work, they lived happy ; it was difficult under
one of a different description.

It was not understood they had legal redress against
owners or overseers for ill usage ; nor against others,
unless the owner or manager stood forward to protect
them.

He had the mortification of seeing innumerable P. 253.
punishments inflicted, many with severity, and he
fears, some unjustly. An uncommon one now occurs,
though it was long ago, at Savanna la Mar. Hear-
ing, from an inclosure, the cries of some poor wretch
under torture, he looked through, and saw a young
female suspended by the wrists to a tree, swinging to
and fro ; her toes could barely touch the ground, and
her body exceedingly agitated. The sight rather
confounded him, as there was no whipping, and the
master just by, seemingly motionless ; but on look-
ing more attentively, saw in his hand a stick of fire,
which he held so as occasionally to touch her about
her private parts as she swung. He continued this
torture with unmoved countenance, until the witness
calling on him to desist, throwing stones at him over
the fence, stopped it. Thinks it right to say, that
on mentioning it on the bay, it was heard with uni-
versal detestation : the perpetrator was not a man of
character : he was not brought to legal punishment.
Does not know that the law then extended to the P. 254.
punishing whites for such acts.

Slaves in Kingston, when flogged, were tied up by
the wrists ; if on the wharfs to the crane-hook, with
weights

1791. weights to their feet, and the crane wound up so as to extend them greatly ; the whip was a cow-skin at first, and then ebony bushes, to take off the bruised blood. A gaol was also a place of correction : in fact, every man's premises was a place of punishment, if he chose ; but the wharfs and gaol were used by such as did not choose to disturb the neighbours with the slaves' cries ; but it was understood that any owner had a right to order such punishments, without a magistrate.

In his residence in Jamaica, it became more cleared and improved, and of course healthier : the style of living, and manners of the whites, gradually improved, and extended a favourable influence to the state of the slaves.

P. 255. Negroes are as capable of labour in the West Indies, as other people in climates congenial to them : that they are better adapted than whites to that climate, is certain. Negroes on board ships, fed on animal food as the whites, are capable of great exertions. In the last war, on the expedition to St. Juan's, government ordered a number of negroes to be collected, to ease the military ; they were chiefly culprits, many taken from gaols, whom the owners were glad to part with ; though exhausted by confinement and low diet when shipped, they returned almost to a man, in health, and much improved in looks (having had rations with the rest) while the whites, on that service, suffered great sickness and deaths. Something similar was the case with a greater body of negroes sent from Jamaica, to the siege of the Havannah.

As to slaves suffering from the bad circumstances of owners, unable to buy provisions, in some instances it may be the case, when from storms or other casualties, ground provisions are injured.

Slaves may be seized and sold for their owners debts : whereby near relations are often separated. In Kingston and Spanish town, they are confined in gaols till sold to the highest bidders ; some of whom may

may be foreigners, and carry a part off the island : a 1791.
hardship which often happens, and to which creoles are
as well as Africans are subject. P. 257.

Has often been at sales of Guinea cargoes. On the day advertised by the agent, buyers attend a-board ; at a given hour the sale is declared open, when each exerts himself to get first among the slaves to have a good choice, and the whole of the healthy and likely ones, are often sold that day. There used to be in Kingston many people who bought on speculation those left after the first day's sale, to carry them to the country, and retail them, or to ship them off. Has often seen the very refuse landed and sent to vendue masters in a very wretched state ; sometimes in the agonies of death, has known them expire in the piazza of the vendue master. Has seen them sold even as low as a dollar.

Thinks the slave trade has been productive of great destruction to the human race, both blacks and whites ; of which he could furnish many instances : one marked with peculiar circumstances of horror, was this.

About 20 years ago, a ship, with about 400 slaves struck on a shoal, half a league from the Morant Keys, (3 small sandy islands, 11 leagues S. S. E. from Jamaica) the officers and crew took to the boats with arms and provisions, and landed. At day light it was found that the slaves had got out of their irons, and were forming rafts, on which they placed the women and children, the men swimming by the side, whilst they drifted towards the little island where the crew had landed ; who left the slaves should consume their provisions, came to the resolution to fire upon them, and actually killed from 3 to 400. Of the cargo, 33 or 34 only were saved, which he saw sold at vendue at Kingston. The ship, he thinks, was consigned to a Mr. Hugh Wallace, of St. Elizabeth's parish.

As it is said to be common when ships are wrecked, for the crew to break up the spirit room and get drunk, he is inclined to think the crew of the Guineaman

1791. neaman must have been drunk to have adopted so horrid a resolution, without first dispatching a boat to Jamaica (5 or 6 hours sail) for assistance. But this is only conjecture, from a persuasion that if they had acted with common discretion, there was no necessity for destroying any of the slaves.

Guinea ships, leaving their seamen behind, was so common as to have been a great nuisance and expense to the people at Kingston, and occasioned a law, obliging the masters of all ships to give security against leaving any disabled seamen behind, or provide for the charge of taking care of them. It was not uncommon for Guinea masters to send on shore a few hours before they sailed, their lame, ulcerated, or sick seamen, leaving them to perish. As to the Guinea trade being a nursery for seamen, he has ever

P. 260. considered it the reverse.

As to any compassion between the state of West India slaves and the peasantry of Great Britain, whatever others may think, he considers it as an insult to common sense: the peasantry in this country are obliged to labour it is true; but there is no market for the sale of human beings, where men of all characters may become buyers, and by the laws hold an absolute right in the person purchased. It is impossible to conceive a man so degenerate, as not to prefer the scantiest morsel with freedom and independance, to the luxury enjoyed by the wealthiest slave on earth. A peasant here however poor, cannot be imprisoned for his master's debts; nor purchased without a legal discussion: he beholds his growing family with pleasure, his industry often enables him to give them such an education, as advances them in life, and puts it in their power to comfort his old age: the slave who has reflection, views his offspring with very different feelings; knowing them doomed to eternal slavery, and ignorant of the character of those to whom they may hereafter belong.

P. 261. His residence in Jamaica for above twenty years of the prime of his life, must have given him as perfect a know-

a knowledge of the state of slaves there, as it is possible to acquire. As to the information which may have been got by those holding high commands there he cannot speak decidedly; but if it is meant to know, whether such on occasional visits to estates, were likely to obtain a thorough knowledge of the treatment of slaves, he thinks they could not.

He has often accompanied Governors and Admirals on their tours there; when, the estates visited (belonging generally to persons of distinction) might be supposed under the best management; besides that all possible care would be taken to keep every disgusting object from view, and on no account, by the exercise of the whip or other punishments, harrow up the feelings of strangers of such distinction.

As to his opinion of the probable effects of the P. 261. abolition of the slave trade, he is at some loss to express himself; he thinks however, that as it would tend to prevent making new settlements in the islands, the produce of sugar not keeping pace with the increasing demand for it, the price must rise and of course the present estates became more valuable: the value of the slaves would also be increased and it would become more the owners interest to attend to their health and population.

Finally, as the result of his observations and most serious reflection, he hesitates not to say, that the trade for slaves ought to be abolished not only as contrary to sound policy, but to the laws of God and nature; and were it possible by the present inquiry to convey P. 262. a just knowledge of the extensive misery it occasions, every kingdom of Europe must unite in calling on their legislatures to abolish the inhuman traffic. This is not a hasty, nor a new sentiment, formed on the present discussion, which has in no respect influenced his judgment. The same opinion he publicly delivered seventeen years ago, in Kingston, in a society formed of the first characters of the place, on debating the following question (proposed he thinks, by the late Mr. Thomas Hibbert, who had been 40

1791. or 50 years the most eminent Guinea factor there)
~~~~ " Whether the trade to Africa for slaves, was con-  
" sistent with sound policy, the laws of nature and  
" morality." The discussion occupied several meet-  
ings, and at last it was determined by a majority, that  
the trade to Africa for slaves was neither con-  
sistent with sound policy, the laws of nature, nor  
morality.

The chief ground on which the advocates for the  
slave trade rested their opinion (he thinks) was, that  
God had formed some of the human race, inferior to  
others, in intellect; and that negroes appeared to  
have been intended for slaves, or, to that purpose.

Has been in some of the foreign West India islands,  
in N. America, and St. Domingo. The state of slaves  
seemed similar to that in Jamaica; in America he  
had but little opportunity for observation: but upon  
the whole, they appeared decenter in their manners;  
more domesticated, and to have some notions of  
religion.

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The following Evidence is printed at full length,  
there not being time to abridge it.

Witness examined—THOMAS IRVING, Esq.

Does not your official situation afford you a general view of the commerce of the British empire, and of the relation of its several branches to each other, and particularly to Great Britain? 1791.

The office of Inspector General of Imports and Exports, committed to my management, exhibits a state of the importations into, and exportations from, Great Britain, and the British Colonies and Islands in America and the West Indies, and of all the revenues arising from our commerce. Accounts are transmitted to the office, from the several ports of Great Britain and the colonies, of every article imported into, or exported from, such ports, distinguishing our trade with each respective country, together (in as far as relates to our Colonies) with the number of vessels, their tonnage, and number of men employed in the trade. I am also annually furnished (extra-officially for a special purpose) by the Register General of Shipping, with a similar account of the number of vessels, their tonnage, and number of men, both British and Foreign, which enter and clear in the ports of Great Britain. In a word, the Inspector General's office, as it at present stands, exhibits a complete view of the commerce, navigation, and commercial revenues of the British empire, Ireland excepted. I am the more particular in explaining the nature of the office, in order that it may appear from what sources I draw any information which I may have occasion to offer to the Committee, in the course of the subsequent examination.

Did you ever execute any other office, which afforded you the means of acquiring a knowledge of

1791. the trade of the British Colonies in America and the  
West Indies?

In the year 1767 I was appointed Inspector General of the imports and exports of North America, and Register of Shipping, which offices I continued to execute until the year 1774, when I was appointed Receiver General of South Carolina, and a Member of the Council.

This office of Inspector General and Register of Shipping in North America furnished me with the means of acquiring a thorough knowledge of the trade and navigation carried on between the continental Colonies and the British West India Islands, and the books and papers of that office are still in my possession.

Have the British West India islands, in their present state, the means of furnishing the supply of sugar and rum that is requisite for the consumption of Great Britain and her immediate dependencies?

The British West India islands produce annually a greater quantity of sugar and rum than is requisite for the consumption of Great Britain, her immediate dependencies, and the kingdom of Ireland. In testimony of this fact I beg leave to lay before the Committee the paper which I now hold in my hand, containing an account of the quantity of British plantation sugar imported into, and exported from, Great Britain, in the years 1772, 1773, 1774, and 1775, and in the years 1787, 1788, 1789, and 1790. I have selected those years as exhibiting the fairest state of the produce of the sugar colonies; for in the year 1776, our trade began to meet with many interruptions from the war which was then become general on the continent of America: and I am of opinion, that the islands did not recover the shock which they had sustained by capture, and other consequences of war, sooner than about the year 1787.

An ACCOUNT of the Total Quantity of Sugar imported from the British West India Islands into Great Britain, in the undermentioned Years:

A L S O,

An Account, for the same Periods, of the Quantity of Raw and Refined Sugars exported from Great Britain; distinguishing the Quantity exported to Ireland, and other Parts of the Empire, from the Quantity exported to Foreign Parts.

| Quantity of British<br>Plantation Sugar<br>imported. | Raw Sugar exported                            |                      |                                                  | Refined Sugar ex-<br>ported to<br>Foreign Parts. |                      |                      |
|------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------|----------------------|--------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------|----------------------|----------------------|
|                                                      | to Ireland, and other<br>Parts of the Empire. | to<br>the<br>Empire. | to<br>Ireland, and other<br>Parts of the Empire. | to<br>Foreign Parts.                             | to<br>Foreign Parts. | to<br>Foreign Parts. |
| 1772                                                 | —                                             | —                    | 1,786,045                                        | 1                                                | 172,269              | 2 5                  |
| 1773                                                 | —                                             | —                    | 1,762,387                                        | 3 15                                             | 184,252              | 2 17                 |
| 1774                                                 | —                                             | —                    | 2,015,911                                        | 1 15                                             | 211,304              | 1 25                 |
| 1775                                                 | —                                             | —                    | 2,002,224                                        | 3 8                                              | 255,686              | 2 16                 |
| 1787                                                 | —                                             | —                    | 1,926,121                                        | 3                                                | 196,636              | 3 20                 |
| 1788                                                 | —                                             | —                    | 2,065,700                                        | — 12                                             | 138,681              | 3 19                 |
| 1789                                                 | —                                             | —                    | 1,935,223                                        | 2 21                                             | 149,351              | 2 —                  |
| 1790                                                 | —                                             | —                    | 1,882,005                                        | — 17                                             | 127,104              | 1 3                  |



Do you think that the extention of the West India plantations beyond the degree that is requisite for supplying Great Britain, and her immediate dependencies with the principal articles of West India produce, would materially promote the interest of the British empire?

This question is of a very extensive nature, and is involved in a variety of objects and considerations, commercial and political, which I am afraid I am incompetent to offer an opinion upon; more especially in the present debilitated state of my health, having only lately recovered from a dangerous illness.

The Committee informed Mr. Irving, that they did not wish that he should, in answering this, or any other question, make exertions to the prejudice of his health, and that he would therefore confine himself to such facts and opinions as shall readily occur to him.

The Witness then proceeded as follows :

The extension of the culture of the British W. India islands, beyond that degree that is requisite for supplying Great Britain and her immediate dependencies with the principal articles of West India produce, does not appear to me likely to promote the interest of the British empire; and in support of this opinion, I beg leave to offer the following reasons :

The West India islands have been settled upon a system very different from the British Continental Colonies (now a part of the States of America). I allude to the colonies which are cultivated chiefly by slaves; namely, the tobacco, and rice, and indigo colonies. The settlement of these colonies was undertaken upon small capitals, and the increase of their wealth arose almost wholly out of the growing profits of the industry of the proprietors; whereas our islands in the West Indies have, agreeable to the system hitherto pursued, been settled and extended by

1791. by means of large capitals drawn from the mother country. The Ceded Islands were almost entirely settled with the British capitals; and in the island of Jamaica large sums of money have from time to time been borrowed from this country upon mortgage, in order to extend the cultivation of that island. Thus a capital to a great amount, which might have been employed in carrying on and extending the manufactures, the commerce, and agriculture of Great Britain, has been transferred from hence to the most vulnerable part of the empire; and there invested in pursuits which do not appear to me to have been productive of a profit to the proprietor, or of advantages to the public, in any degree adequate to the precarious situation in which such property stands, from the contingencies of climate, the fate of war, &c. For although the planter resident on the spot will most likely abide by his property whatever change of government he may be subjected to, yet the loss of an island by capture is a complete loss of so much capital to the empire. Notwithstanding our general superiority at sea, the precarious tenure on which we hold our colonial possessions was sufficiently evinced in the course of last war. Thirteen great provinces separated themselves for ever from the empire, whereby property to the amount of many millions was lost to the inhabitants of Great Britain, and her adherents. The provinces of East and West Florida, and the island of Tobago, were ceded to Spain and France; and the islands of St. Kitts, Nevis, Montserrat, St. Vincents, Dominica, and Grenada, were all captured, but restored at the peace.

But besides the reasons already offered—the impolicy of extending the cultivation of the West India islands beyond the degree stated in the question, is in my humble opinion strongly marked by some further considerations.

Notwithstanding whatever may be the difference between the British and Foreign sugars at present, or

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An ACCOUNT of the Quantity of British and Foreign Plantation Sugars, imported into North America, in the following Years; distinguishing each Year, and the British from the Foreign Sugars.

| Y E A R S. | British Plantation Sugar. |      |      | Foreign Plantation Sugar. |      |      |
|------------|---------------------------|------|------|---------------------------|------|------|
|            | Cwts.                     | Qrs. | Ibs. | Cwts.                     | Qrs. | Ibs. |
| 1769       | -                         | -    | -    | 49,672                    | -    | -    |
| 1770       | -                         | -    | -    | 66,417                    | 2    | 3    |
| 1771       | -                         | -    | -    | 47,870                    | -    | -    |
| 1772       | -                         | -    | -    | 44,611                    | -    | -    |
|            |                           |      |      | 45,437                    | -    | -    |
|            |                           |      |      | 35,035                    | 1    | 1    |
|            |                           |      |      | 21,466                    | -    | -    |
|            |                           |      |      | 51,333                    | -    | -    |

for these two or three years past, since the disturbances in France began to convulse her colonies; yet if we take a comparative view of the difference between the price of British and Foreign sugars, even in a period the most favourable to the British islands, namely, before last war, when they received a complete supply of lumber and provisions from the continent of America, it will be found that the French sugars were sold by the planters from 20 to 30 per cent. cheaper than the British sugars could be purchased in our islands. This fact I state from the information which I received time after time from the merchants and others concerned in the trade between America and the West Indies, when I executed the office of Inspector General of the Imports and Exports of North America; and I was the more minute in my inquiries, as the acquiring information of the prices of the several commodities imported into and exported from America formed a part of my duty, in order to enable me to establish a table of the rates of value for the office. But as a further testimony of the Foreign sugars being materially cheaper than the British, I take the liberty of presenting an account of the quantity of British and Foreign sugars, distinguishing each, imported into our colonies in North America, in the years 1769, 1770, 1771, and 1772. The Committee will perceive by this account, that the difference between the quantity of British, and of Foreign sugars imported, was not very considerable, notwithstanding that the Foreign sugars were clandestinely obtained in the French islands by our traders, which enhanced the price in proportion to the risque, and were also subject to a duty of 5s. per cwt. on importation into America: nor were our traders by any means under the necessity of taking these foreign sugars in exchange for merchandize; for they were chiefly purchased with cash which they received for their lumber and provisions sold in our islands. I am the more particular in stating the difference of the prices be-

1791. tween the British and Foreign sugars, because I conceive it is a maxim thoroughly established in national commerce, that it is unwise to push forward by means of monopolies, restrictive regulations, or bounties, any branch of commerce or manufactures, which cannot be carried on, after a fair trial, within 15 per cent. of the prices of other rival countries : and I am of opinion that this observation will strictly apply even to those branches of commerce from which the nation is supposed to derive the greatest political advantages from the smallest capital employed, namely, our fisheries.

The money expended upon West India estates is in general far from yielding a profitable return, and in this opinion I am supported by the testimony of some of the best informed gentlemen connected with the West Indies, particulary the agent for Jamaica, who states, in his examination before the Privy Council, that the planters throughout that island do not make more than four per cent. upon their capital; and the agent of Barbadoes gave it as his opinion, " That after payment of expences and plantation losses, even a good crop does not leave the owner more, or so much as six per cent. the interest of the island, on his capital." Besides the return to the proprietor, the publick certainly derives a considerable profit from the freight of the sugars, and the commission paid to the merchants of this kingdom. This latter circumstance I perceive is upon all occasions strongly urged by gentlemen connected with the West Indies ; but the same national profit and political advantages appear to me to apply less or more to every other branch of our foreign commerce, and in many instances to our internal manufactures. Indeed, the testimony of the West India gentlemen, which states, that the capital invested in the West India estates is far from yielding a profitable return, is strongly confirmed by the account which I now beg leave to lay before the committee. By this account it appears that the principal article cultivated in the West Indies has,

An ACCOUNT of the Quantity of Sugars, being British P  
Years; distinguishing each Year, and

|               | 1772.                 | 1773.                | 1774.                 | 1775.               |
|---------------|-----------------------|----------------------|-----------------------|---------------------|
|               | Cwts.<br>qrs.<br>lbs. | Cwts.<br>qrs.<br>lb. | Cwts.<br>qrs.<br>lbs. | Cwts.<br>qrs.<br>qr |
| Antigua -     | 115,364 1 23          | 83,965 1 20          | 235,815 1 23          | 255,861             |
| Anguilla -    | - - -                 | - - -                | - - -                 | 1,298 -             |
| Barbadoes -   | 141,341 1 3           | 110,911 2 4          | 139,564 1 3           | 70,181              |
| Dominica -    | 10,370 2 8            | 26,705 1 5           | 53,464 2 12           | 40,683              |
| Grenada -     | 198,362 2 5           | 202,679 - -          | 185,42 - 10           | 199,824             |
| Jamaica -     | 874,560 1 20          | 1,057,958 - 23       | 947,073 1 1           | 995,387             |
| St. Kitt's -  | 220,716 2 14          | 110,657 3 3          | 212,267 - 15          | 206,049             |
| Nevis - -     | 63,125 1 26           | 30,369 1 20          | 68,408 - 9            | 50,488 -            |
| Montferrat -  | 58,008 2 -            | 33,776 - 21          | 47,590 3 9            | 39,327              |
| St. Vincent - | 55,909 1 18           | 61,084 - 18          | 65,177 - 17           | 54,071              |
| Tortola - -   | 34,660 - 3            | 30,126 3 24          | 33,962 3 4            | 38,665              |
| Tobago - -    | 13,625 2 21           | 14,153 3 17          | 27,045 2 24           | 50,385              |
| Total -       | 1,786,045 - 1         | 1,762,387 3 15       | 2,015,911 1 15        | 2,002,224           |

Average of the Annual Pro-  
duce of the first Period.

Cwts. qrs. lb.

1,891,642 1 -

Average of the Annual Pro-  
duce of the last Period.

Cwts. qrs. lb.

1,952,262 - -

Increase in the last Period.

Cwts. qrs. lb.

60,620 - - equal to  
about 4,040 Hogsheads.

British Plantation Produce, imported into Great Britain in the following year, and each Island from whence imported.

| 1775.  |      |      | 1787.     |      |      | 1788.     |      |      | 1789.     |      |      | 1790.     |      |      |
|--------|------|------|-----------|------|------|-----------|------|------|-----------|------|------|-----------|------|------|
| Cwts.  | qrs. | lbs. | Cwts.     | qrs. | lbs. | Cwts.     | qrs. | lbs. | Cwts.     | qrs. | lbs. | Cwts.     | qrs. | lbs. |
| 55,861 | 1    | 26   | 254,575   | 1    | 18   | 181,813   | 2    | —    | 144,204   | —    | 11   | 65,022    | 1    | 26   |
| 1,298  | —    |      | 2,129     | 2    | 16   | 3,728     | 1    | 2    | 3         | 2    | 12   | 2,150     | 2    | 18   |
| 70,181 | 1    | 25   | 130,242   | —    | 16   | 110,955   | —    | 19   | 97,389    | 2    | 27   | 113,038   | 3    | 21   |
| 40,683 | 1    | 21   | 58,665    | 1    | 21   | 47,610    | 1    | 24   | 34,709    | 3    | 5    | 50,036    | —    | 23   |
| 99,824 | 1    | 23   | 172,880   | —    | 9    | 193,783   | —    | 25   | 164,338   | 3    | 9    | 191,625   | 1    | 6    |
| 95,387 | 2    | 18   | 824,706   | 2    | 15   | 1,124,017 | —    | 44   | 1,236,603 | 1    | 27   | 1,185,519 | 2    | 7    |
| 66,049 | 3    | 17   | 231,397   | 2    | 12   | 187,379   | 1    | 25   | 89,755    | 1    | 23   | 113,379   | 1    | 16   |
| 50,488 | —    | 10   | 72,475    | 1    | 11   | 30,050    | 1    | 4    | 28,151    | 3    | —    | 35,467    | 3    | 1    |
| 39,327 | 2    | 9    | 35,849    | 3    | 10   | 25,113    | —    | 13   | 25,089    | 2    | 16   | 19,186    | 3    | 24   |
| 54,071 | 2    | 16   | 64,449    | 1    | 27   | 76,735    | 2    | 24   | 81,283    | —    | 18   | 76,747    | 2    | 1    |
| 38,665 | 2    | 7    | 78,749    | 1    | 6    | 84,513    | 3    | 22   | 33,704    | —    | 23   | 29,830    | 1    | 14   |
| 50,385 | 2    | 4    | —         | —    | —    | —         | —    | —    | —         | —    | —    | —         | —    | —    |
| 2,224  | 3    | 8    | 1,926,121 | —    | 3    | 2,065,700 | —    | 12   | 1,935,223 | 2    | 21   | 1,882,005 | —    | 17   |

[To face page 154.]

has, in point of quantity, been in a great measure stationary for these twenty years, and yet there is no part of the empire in which property stands in a more favoured footing. Prohibitory laws were early made tending to force the consumption of West India produce upon the inhabitants of Great Britain, and the other subjects of the empire, whereby the proprietors of the islands obtained (and still retain) a complete monopoly of our markets at a very considerable expense to the British consumer, as appears by the difference of the prices between the British and the foreign islands.

In our colonies in America, in order to encourage our islands, the use of foreign rum is absolutely prohibited, foreign coffee is subject to a duty of two pounds nineteen shillings per cwt. whilst British is chargeable with a duty of seven shillings; and foreign sugars, as I have already mentioned, pay a duty on importation into the continent of five shillings per cwt. and into this kingdom one pound seven shillings and twopence, which is fourteen shillings and tenpence per cwt. more than the British sugars. The whole duties imposed upon British sugars are drawn back upon exportation, and refined sugars are entitled to a bounty, when exported, of twenty-six shillings per cwt. which exceeds the duty collected upon the raw material three or four shillings. In order to give the planters a more extensive market for the sale of their prduce, sugars were, by the 12th of Geo. II. taken out of the list of enumerated commodities, and the exportation of them permitted to all parts south of Cape Finisterre, in Europe.

The evidence upon the part of the West India planters, before the Committee of Privy Council, state many natural advantages which the foreign islands possess, as reasons why our islands will never be able to enter into a competition in point of price with the foreign plantations.

For those, and the reasons which I have had the honour upon this occasion of submitting to the Committee,

mittee, I am of opinion, that however just and proper it may be to encourage our own islands to the extent of supplying ourselves, and thereby doing that justice to the proprietors of estates there which they consider themselves entitled to; yet the extension of the cultivation of those islands beyond that degree that is requisite for supplying Great Britain and her immediate dependencies, with the principal articles of their produce, is by no means likely to promote the interests of the empire; because from the great disparity of price between the British and Foreign sugars, the former cannot be made an object of export by any other means than by that destructive system of policy which has been too much adopted in some other branches of our commerce, namely, the granting of bounties out of the Exchequer, in order to enable the British exporter to stand the competition of prices in the foreign market. It is a dangerous principle to force commerce and manufactures like fruit raised on a hot bed. In such cases, the capital and the industry of the individual are too often drawn from objects of profit, to pursuits which can only be carried on by the aid of the national purse.

Do you think, that by a proper attention to the breeding of slaves in the British West India islands, such a number of slaves may be obtained and kept up, without the aid of importation from Africa, as will be sufficient to raise the West India produce that is requisite for the supply of Great Britain and her immediate dependencies?

I have long been of opinion, that by proper attention to the breeding of slaves, the stock might be kept up in the British West India islands, without the aid of importation from Africa. I beg leave, however, to be understood, that this measure is not likely, in my judgment, to be effected by putting an immediate stop to the importations, but by adopting such

such a system of policy as will gradually do away 1791.  
the necessity for importation.

Prior to the late war, the provisions for feeding the slaves were chiefly imported from North America, the attention of the planters being almost wholly directed to what is called the crop, namely, sugars, &c. and as these provisions were bought at a considerable expense, the planters did not consider it their interest to encourage the breeding of slaves at the expense of feeding them ten or twelve years before they were capable, by the produce of their labour in the cane walks, to support themselves. Hence grown slaves, whose labour can be brought into immediate effect, were, and still continue to be, imported from the coast of Africa; and of these a greater proportion of males than females.

If a different system of policy were adopted with respect to the cultivation of the plantations in the West Indies, and which system I have many reasons for thinking would be attended with advantage to the planters themselves: I am persuaded a sufficient number of slaves might be bred at least to keep up the present stock; I allude to the cultivating of a proportion of land sufficient to supply the negroes with provisions, in which the little slaves, from seven years old and upwards, might be useful. In that part of America where I was resident, and which was cultivated as much by negroes as the West Indies, the breeding of slaves was considered so advantageous, that the planter generally valued a child on the day of its birth at five pounds. The prevailing opinion, to the best of my recollection, in South Carolina, at that time was, that the increased population of slaves by birth was from two to ten per cent. and yet the climate of Carolina, particularly of the rice plantations, is, I believe, more hostile to the human constitution than any part of the West Indies.

In order gradually to check the importation of negroes from the coast of Africa, I would submit that a slight duty, in the first instance, should be laid upon all

1791. all slaves imported; the duty imposed on males to be considerably higher than upon females; or perhaps that the latter should for a time be imported free; and that the rate of this duty should be progressively increased as the means should be provided of supplying the deficiency which this check would give to the importation. And in order to encourage the raising of plantation born slaves, and cultivating provisions for their support, which latter circumstance I consider to be materially connected with the breeding of the negroes, I would propose that the produce of the duties collected upon slaves imported from the coast of Africa should be applied as bounties for promoting the above purposes. The raising of provisions in some of the islands, would, no doubt, be less advantageous than others; but I am of opinion, that the cultivation of a sufficient quantity for the use of the slaves would be profitable and politick. Anterior to the late war, the negroes in the West Indies depended in a great degree for their supply of food on the continent of America. When the disturbances broke out, this source of supply was at once cut off, and the importations from Europe, through captures at sea and other causes, were rendered very precarious. The planters, thus impelled by necessity, were obliged to deviate from their former system, and to turn their attention more towards raising provision upon their own estates. The good effects of this plan has been so forcibly felt, that the importation of Indian corn, which may emphatically be styled the bread of life, with respect to the food of the slaves, is reduced from about 600,000 bushels, the quantity annually imported before the war, to somewhat under 300,000 bushels, the medium importation of the last three years; and pease, &c. in a similar proportion. In a political sense, I conceive that no country capable of producing corn to feed itself, ought to be dependent upon any other for any article which it cannot do without, even for a day.

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An ACCOUNT of the Quantity of Rum and Melasses exported from the British West Indies, to all Parts, in the Years 1787, 1788, and 1789, distinguishing each Year, and the Countries to which exported.

|                          | 1787.            | 1788.                 | 1789.     |           |           |           |
|--------------------------|------------------|-----------------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|
|                          | Rum.<br>Gallons. | Melasses.<br>Gallons. | Rum.      | Melasses. | Rum.      | Melasses. |
| Great Britain            | 2,251,346        | —                     | 3,646,667 | —         | 3,396,653 | —         |
| Ireland                  | 344,150          | —                     | 688,050   | —         | 754,700   | —         |
| British Colonies         | 885,186          | 26,380                | 652,200   | 24,889    | 658,470   | 20,192    |
| States of America        | 1,660,155        | 4,200                 | 1,541,093 | 3,923     | 1,485,461 | 1,000     |
| Foreign West Indies      | 345,750          | —                     | 222,512   | —         | 143,443   | —         |
| Southern Parts of Europe | 9,560            | —                     | —         | —         | 43,450    | —         |
| Africa                   | —                | —                     | 19,810    | —         | —         | —         |
|                          | 5,496,147        | 30,580                | 6,770,332 | 28,812    | 6,492,177 | 21,192    |

If the British West India islands should in future 1791. raise a quantity of provisions sufficient to feed the slaves, in what manner do you think the planters would be enabled to dispose of that part of their rum and molasses, which is at present supposed to be applied to the purchasing of provisions?

Before I reply to this question, I beg leave to lay before the Committee an account of the quantity of rum and molasses exported from the British West India islands, to all parts, for the three years preceding the 5th of January, 1790, which is the latest period to which the account can be made up.

The quantity of provisions suitable for feeding of the slaves raised in the British Colonies in North America is very inconsiderable, and the barrelled mackrel and other fish exported from those Colonies to the West Indies, would almost in any event be in demand, more especially as it is now sufficiently proved, that the produce of the British Herring Fishery is far from being equal to the demand of our islands. The Continental Colonies would, therefore, be very little affected by any change of system in raising provisions for the negroes in the West Indies; and so far from its being probable that the demand for rum in these Colonies is likely to be lessened in future, I am of opinion that the consumption will increase in proportion to the growing population of the country.

By the account which I have just now laid before the Committee, it appears that upon a medium of three years, about 1,500,000 gallons of rum have been taken off by the subjects of the United States; which rum, including the freight, as it can be only imported in British bottoms, may be valued at about 3s. 3d. sterling per gallon in America; the total value at that rate would be £.243,750. This sum is by no means more than equal to the purchasing of lumber, flour, and other articles which have little or no connection with the food of the slaves. In a long examination which I underwent before the Lords of the

1791. Committee of Privy Council, in the year 1784, relating to the opening an intercourse between the States of America and the British West Indies, I had occasion to look very minutely into the nature and value of the articles which the West Indies receive from the States, and into those which the States take in return from the islands, and it then appeared to me, (and nothing has since occurred to alter my opinion) that the West India planters will always find a sufficient demand for their rum.

The quantity of molasses exported from our islands is too inconsiderable to merit notice.

If a sufficiency of slaves for the culture of the British West India settlements should be raised within those settlements, do you think that the diminution of British exports to Africa, which may be the consequence of such a change, would be materially prejudicial to the manufacturing interests of Great Britain?

I feel more diffidence in answering this question than any of the preceding, as nothing is more difficult to foresee than the consequences that may arise from any alteration of system in a trade long established. Casting, however, a retrospective eye to the effect which the changes in other branches of our commerce have undergone in the course of public events, and comparing the probable consequences which may take place in the case in question, by those which experience has afforded an opportunity of determining upon, I shall submit such ideas as occur to my weak judgment, as to the tendency that a probable diminution of the British exports to the Coast of Africa, in consequence of the change proposed, is likely to have on the manufacturing interests of this kingdom.

The medium value of the British manufactures exported to Africa, chiefly for the purpose of purchasing slaves, amounts to about £400,000 a year, agreeable to the rates of value in the Inspector General's

neral's books; but I mention with regret, that from the loose manner in which the entries of free goods are made in the Custom-house, the Inspector General's value of such goods is not absolutely to be relied upon, and therefore the value of the exports to Africa may have been less or more; however, the Committee will please to observe, that in the £.400,000, I include the value of the goods exchanged for gold dust, ivory, cam and redwood, gum, drugs, &c. imported from Africa, either directly into Great Britain, or through the circuitous passage of the West Indies.

An immediate stop being put to our exports to Africa, would doubtless be felt in a very considerable degree by those artificers, who are at present employed in manufacturing goods for that branch of our export trade; because they would find the channels through which their industry passed to a market shut up before they had time to turn their attention, labour, and capital to other pursuits. It was not less with a view to this object, than to the consequences which the planters in the West Indies might experience by their being at once deprived of their usual supply of slaves, that I took the liberty of suggesting the crude ideas offered in my answer to the preceding question.

In cases of war breaking out, and being of long continuance with countries with which we had been in habits of carrying on commercial intercourse, temporary inconveniences are doubtless experienced, but not to the extent which theoretical reasoning would induce us to imagine. The enterprise of our merchants soon discovers fresh means of vending the produce of the labour of our manufacturers. The superior capital, ingenuity, industry, and integrity of the British artificer, will ever command a market for the produce of his industry. The late revolution in America, affords striking proofs of the justice of this observation. With the independence of these states, it was very generally apprehended, that Great Britain would

1791. would also lose the benefit of their commerce ; but experience has proved the fallacy of that opinion. The exports of our native manufactures to that part of the world, instead of being lessened since the separation of the two countries, are increased ; and as a proof of the delusion of the idea, that the employment of the capital of this country has for some time past been at its ne plus ultra, I beg leave to inform the Committee, that the value of British manufactures exported from this country of late, exceeds that of the most flourishing period before the late war, when the laws of trade confined those colonies, which now constitute the American States, in their supply of merchandize to Great Britain, the sum of upwards of £2,500,000 annually ; and that our shipping has also increased between two and three hundred thousand tons, over that which the empire possessed when the American States formed a part of its dominions. Nor has this great increase of trade and navigation arisen from any special or temporary cause, for it will appear by the books of my office, that the value of our exports has been gradually increasing every year since the late war.

For the facts and reasons which I have thus set forth, I am under no apprehensions that a gradual check to the importation of slaves would materially affect the manufacturing interests of this country.

Do you not know the price of sugars has doubled in Great Britain within the last eighteen years ?

I believe the price of sugars in Great Britain is very considerably increased within the last eighteen years ; but to what amount I am not prepared to give an answer. A considerable addition has been made within that period, to the rate of duties upon sugars, which will consequently increase the price ; and I am inclined to think, that the prices at present, and for two or three years past, have been materially affected, as I have already observed, by the disturbances in the French islands.

Do

Do you not think, if a more ample supply of sugar were sent from the West Indies to Great Britain, <sup>1791.</sup> ~~1791.~~ that the price in the home market would decrease?

I have already informed the Committee, that the British West India islands, in their present situation, raise a quantity of sugar more than adequate to the consumption of the whole British empire. If the quantity of sugars in the British West India islands were considerably increased, such increase might probably have some effect in lowering the prices to the British consumer; but the natural consequence must be a diminution in the price to the West India planter, which would tend greatly to discourage him in the extension of his plantation.

Do you not believe, that the consumption of sugar, and consequently the revenue arising from that article, would increase very considerably if the prices were lower?

I conceive I have already answered this question.

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Should any errors have crept into the foregoing Work, it is hoped they will be candidly attributed to their true cause—the want of time to correct the press.

F I N I S.

COLLECTOR

22.00.77

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